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COLLECTIONS

OF THE

RHODE-ISLAND

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

v. 2

VOL. II.

PROVIDENCE:
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MDCCCXXXV.

840

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OF THE
RHODE-ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
ELECTED JULY 19, 1834.

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PUBLISHING COMMITTEE,
Elected by the Trustees, July 19, 1833.

ALBERT G. GREENE,
ROMEO ELTON,
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CIRCULAR.

The Society would call the attention of members and correspondents, to the following subjects :

1. Topographical Sketches of towns and villages, including an account of their soil, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, natural curiosities and statistics.

2. Sketches of the history of the settlement and rise of such towns and villages; and of the introduction and progress of commerce, manufactures, and the arts, in them.

3. Biographical Notices of original settlers, revolutionary patriots, and other distinguished men who have resided in this State.

4. Original letters and documents, and papers illustrating any of these subjects; particularly those which shew the private habits, manners or pursuits of our ancestors, or are connected with the general history of this State.

5. Sermons, orations, occasional discourses and addresses, books, pamphlets, almanacs and newspapers, printed in this State; and manuscripts, especially those written by persons born or residing in this State.

6. Accounts of the Indian tribes which formerly inhabited any part of this State, their numbers and condition when first visited by the whites, their general character and peculiar customs and manners, their wars and treaties, and their original grants to our ancestors.

7. The Indian names of the towns, rivers, islands, bays, and other remarkable places within this State, and the traditional import of those names.

8. Besides these, the Society will receive donations of any other books, pamphlets, manuscripts and printed documents.

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PREFACE.

On presenting the public with the second volume of the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, the Committee of Publication deem it proper, very briefly to state the reasons which have induced them to select the present work, for that purpose.

It has been the wish of the Society, to publish, in chronological order, all those works of the early settlers in Rhode-Island, which contain materials relating to the history of the State, or which would furnish means for a just estimate of the characters and conduct of those who were most distinguished during its early periods. That course would have been adopted and steadily pursued, had the resources of the Society been sufficiently ample, or had a sufficient degree of interest in its general objects, been manifested by the public, to warrant such an undertaking. In the prosecution of that design, all the writings of Roger Williams which could answer either of the above purposes, would have been first republished, and have been followed in regular order, by those of his cotemporaries and successors. But with the limited degree of encouragement and assistance which the Society has as yet received, the course which it was so desirable to have pursued, and which would have added so materially to the value of the Collections as a whole, is known to be entirely impracticable. Such being the case, the Committee felt it to be their duty, to select from the materials at their command, some work, not only valuable in a historical point of view, but which, from its own peculiar character, would probably excite the most general interest. They were, therefore, happy to avail themselves of the labors of Mr. Staples, who had been for some time preparing for the press, an edition of Simplicity's Defence; and who, as the Committee were well aware, had been indefatigable in his researches for such materials as might, in the form of Notes and Appendixes, enhance the value of the work, by explaining the references and allusions which it contains, or which could throw any light upon the biography, the characters or motives of the individuals who are mentioned in the Narrative. This task, Mr. Staples has performed, fully and impartially. He has given every authentic means of information in his power, on both sides of the question:

and in embodying this work, with his additions, in the present Collections, the Committee have full confidence, that neither himself, nor the Society, can be obnoxious to the slightest imputation of any other motive than a desire to furnish the means by which a true judgment may be formed respecting facts which are of much importance in the history of this State.

With regard to the eventual republication of this work by the Society, even in its original form, the Committee presume there can be but one opinion; and they are gratified by the opportunity of presenting it, with additions so interesting and extensive as those by which it is now accompanied.

ALBERT G. GREENE,
ROMEO ELTON,
THOMAS F. CARPENTER, } Committee of Publication.

PROVIDENCE, April, 1835.

SIMPLICITY'S DEFENCE

AGAINST

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

BY SAMUEL GORTON,
ONE OF THE FIRST SETTLERS OF WARWICK, R. I.

WITH NOTES EXPLANATORY OF THE TEXT: AND APPENDIXES CONTAINING ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE WORK.

BY WILLIAM R. STAPLES,
Member of the R. I. Historical Society.

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WILLIAM MARSHALL & CO.
Printers, Providence.

INTRODUCTION.

No task is more difficult than that of arriving at a just estimate of the character of any individual who has been the head of a party, either in politics or religion. Take, as true, the statements of the friends and followers of such an individual, and he is deserving of unmingled applause—turn to his enemies and opponents, and every act of his life is a subject of censure and reproach. If the individual were the head of a religious sect, the task is more difficult, than though he were only the leader of a political party. Polemical and controversial writers are very rarely to be credited, when the characters or opinions of friends or enemies, are the subject of their works. If such an individual and all his followers are gathered to the tomb, the sect become extinct, and a long lapse of years rolled over, since their existence, then, is the task onerous and difficult, in the extreme.

Such will be the task of the biographer of Samuel Gorton. He was the founder of a religious sect. In an age and among a people where uniformity to an established religion was enforced by the civil power, Gorton dared to think for himself, and to avow his thoughts. And such were the powers of his mind, or the truth of his positions, that he soon gathered a company who adopted and avowed his peculiar principles, notwithstanding the reproaches and penalties to which such avowal subjected them. Though his followers cannot be called illiterate, still such were the circumstances with which they were surrounded, that they left but scanty written memorials, either of their leader or themselves. Gorton probably wrote more than all of them; but his writings are chiefly of a polemic or religious character, and contain but few allusions to himself. The records of his times are exceedingly barren of historical details; and the traditions in relation to Gorton, are few, and of but little account. His future biographer, therefore, must glean the greater part of his scanty materials from the cotemporary historians, Winthrop, Morton and Johnston, who were his opponents in religion, and leading men against him. To facilitate the labors of such biographer, and to enable the readers of the following Narrative, more fully to understand the position in which affairs stood at the commencement of it, than they could do from the short introduction that Gorton prefixed to it, are the sole objects had in view in this introductory sketch.

Samuel Gorton, came to this country, from London. In one of his printed works, he adds to his name the appellation "Gentleman:" in one conveyance, he styles himself "a Citizen of London, clothier;" and in another, "Professor of the Mysteries of Christ." He landed first in Boston, in the year 1636; and from that place, removed, in a short time, to Plymouth. Here it seems his heterodoxy in religion was first discovered. Morton, in "New-England's Memorial," page 203, Davis's edition, says of Gorton, that falling into some dispute with Mr. Ralph Smith, who was elder of the church there, he was summoned before the Court on the 4th of December, 1638, to answer said Smith's complaint. He there "carried so mutinously and seditiously as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages toward both magistrates and ministers in the presence of the Court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behavior during the time he should stay in that jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days; and also amerced to pay a considerable fine." I think this must have been in 1637, and not in 1638; as Gorton was received an inhabitant at Aquednet or Rhode-Island, on the 20th of June, 1638. From a remark in the commencement of the following Narrative, it is probable, that this fine was levied from his goods; and it is equally probable that the original complaint was for his heterodoxy.

From Plymouth, Gorton removed to Rhode-Island. There he was never received as a purchaser, or admitted a freeman. The time of his removal cannot be ascertained. Morton says, that he "was sentenced to suffer corporal punishment, by whipping," while at Rhode-Island; and Letchford adds, that the punishment was actually inflicted. It is a sufficient reply to this, that nothing of the kind appears on the records, nor even any accusation of any crime, against him. That some of Gorton's subsequent company at Shawomet were banished the island, is stated in the records; and that may have laid the foundation for this report against Gorton himself. From Rhode-Island, Gorton removed to Providence; but at what time, cannot be ascertained, though it was before Nov. 17, 1641. He never was received even as an inhabitant there. Perfect freedom in religious matters was the distinguishing characteristic of the colony at Providence, from its first establishment. It had no charter from the English Government, till 1644; and the articles of voluntary association which bound its inhabitants together, were vague and uncertain. These circumstances, together with an unfortunate dispute among themselves, about the extent and divisions of their lands, had, before Gorton's arrival among them, divided them into parties, which continued to exist until a long time after Gorton's removal to Shawomet. Such a situation of things, well accorded with Gorton's views and feelings; and with his peculiar disposition, it was impossible that

he should keep himself aloof from both parties, or be other than an active partizan, whatever party he might join. This, taken in connection with the facts, that he had never been received an inhabitant, or admitted a freeman, subjected him to great censure from his opponents. Morton in the page last referred to, says, he and his accomplices "carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed; so as the inhabitants, some of them, viz: Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the Governor of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies." The petition here referred to, may be found in Appendix, No. I. It is dated Nov. 17, 1641, and is signed by only a small part of the colonists at Providence; and not by Williams, as stated by Morton. It contains a complaint against "Samuel Gorton and his company," who the petitioners designate as "sojourners among them;" and certain others, "six or seven of our townsmen, which were in peaceable covenants with us." Probably these "six or seven" were the leaders of the opposite party. The Governor of Massachusetts very properly refused to interfere in this quarrel, unless the petitioners would subject themselves to the Government either of Massachusetts or Plymouth.

In October following, (1642) four of Providence colony having subjected themselves and their lands to the government of Massachusetts, renewed their complaints against Gorton. Here commences the Narrative; and the subsequent proceedings of Massachusetts towards him and his company, are therein minutely detailed.

After the return of Gorton from his confinement in Massachusetts, he sailed from the Dutch Plantation at New York, for England, in company with Randall Holden and John Greene, two of his fellow sufferers. This was in 1644, probably in the summer. They carried with them the Act of Submission of the Narragansett Indians to the English Government. On their arrival in England, they presented to the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, appointed by Parliament, a memorial against the Colony of Massachusetts, for the violent and injurious expulsion of themselves and companions from Shawomet, as set forth in this Narrative. This memorial I have not been able to find. A copy of it was inclosed in the order passed by the Commissioners on the 15th of May 1646, and sent to Massachusetts. This order may be found in Appendix, No. II. On the receipt of it, the Colony of Massachusetts appointed Mr. Edward Winslow, one of the leading men in Plymouth Colony, their agent, to proceed to England. His commission may be found in Appendix No. III, and the answer of Massachusetts to Gorton's Memorial, in Appendix, No. IV. The result of Winslow's negotiation in this business, as given by Gov. Winthrop, (Sav. Wint. Vol. 2. p. 317) is also given, in Appendix, No. V.

This Narrative was published while Gorton was in England; and is, as stated in the dedication prefixed to it, "a more particular and full relation" than had been embodied in the previous Memorial to the Commissioners. It is dated January 14, 1645—6; and was licensed to be printed, on the third of August following. One edition was printed in that year, and another in the next; a copy of each of which is now before me. The only differencen betwee them is in the title pages, both of which are prefixed to this edition. Except in the orthography of the body of the work, no alteration has been made.

This narrative was answered by Winslow, in a work entitled "Hypocrisy Unmasked." I have taken unwearied pains to find this answer, with a view of annexing it to the present edition; but have been unsuccessful.

Gorton remained in England, till 1648, when he returned to this country, and arrived in Boston, May 10. The General Court of Massachusetts, being then in session, passed an order, that he should be apprehended. On his producing a letter from the Earl of Warwick, that order was recalled by the casting vote of the Governor, and he was allowed a week, in which to prepare for his departure. His company had returned to Shawomet before his arrival, probably on receipt of the first order of the Commissioners. Shawomet, under the name of Warwick, which it assumed in honor of the Earl of Warwick, was considered within the Providence Plantations, and governed by the charter of 1644, though not named in it. The question of jursidiction was not, however, by any means, settled. Massachusetts persisted in her claim, till after 1651; when she dismissed from her jurisdiction, upon their own petition, the men of Providence, who by subjecting themselves and lands to her Government, afforded a pretence for her interference. As the proceedings in relation to their dismissal, are curious, I have inserted them in Appendix, No. VI; and as it was pretended that all the acts of Massachusetts in relation to Gorton were authorized and approved by the Commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven, I have inserted in Appendix, No. VII, all their "conclusions" on the subject.

In August 1661, the inhabitants of Warwick, addressed a letter to the General Court of Massachusetts, reiterating their former complaints; and giving them notice that they should prosecute before the King in Council, unless some arrangement was made, satisfactory to them. This letter is in Appendix, No. VIII. It does not appear that the General Court took any order on the receipt of this letter, or that the writers of it prosecuted the matter, as they threatened. On the 26th of April, 1664, Charles the Second appointed Col. Richard Nichols; Sir Robert Carr, Knight; George

Cartwright, Esq.; and Samuel Maverick, Esq., Commissioners to visit the Colonies in New-England, and "to examine and determine all complaints and appeals, in all causes and matters as well military as criminal." In March, 1665, the inhabitants of Warwick presented a petition to them which may be found in Appendix, No. IX. Notice of this was probably immediately given to Massachusetts. Difficulties arose between the Commissioners and the General Court of that colony, which effectually hindered them from discharging their duties within that jurisdiction. Their right to hear and determine causes, was denied by the General Court. Instead, therefore, of answering the petition before the Commissioners, they put forth what they call "An Apologetical Reply" to it, which may be found in Appendix, No. X. Before leaving Boston, Cartwright addressed a letter to Gorton on the subject, which is also in the same Appendix. I have found a reference to a subsequent order made by all the Commissioners, on this subject, in August, 1665; and another to an address from Gorton to the King, in 1676; neither of which papers have I been able to procure. Chalmers says, page 197, that Holden presented a petition to Charles the Second, which prayed "that His Majesty would please to command the Magistrates" (of Massachusetts) "to repeal the order of banishment." "That prince," says Chalmers, "in compassion to his aggrieved subjects, and for their future security from the like outrages, granted the desire of the petition. He transmitted an order, in December, 1678, requiring the magistrates of his said colony, to repeal the ordinance complained of; that the said persons may enjoy such liberty of free intercourse within Massachusetts, as unto His Majesty's good subjects, of right, appertaineth." I presume this order ended the troubles of the Warwick colonists.

After Gorton's return from England, he continued to reside at Warwick, until his death, which was between the 27th of November, and the 10th of December, 1677. He had three sons, Samuel, John, and Benjamin; and at least six daughters—Maher, who married Daniel Coles—Mary, who married John Sanford—Sarah, who married William Mace—Anna, who married John Warner, son of the John Warnerreferred to in the following narrative—Elizabeth, who married John Crandall, and Susannah, who married Benjamin Barton. Peter Greene, son of John Greene, also married a daughter of Gorton; yet as he died very soon after he was married, I presume one of those just named, was his wife; and that she subsequently married again.

Gorton appears always to have had the confidence of his fellow-townsmen. Immediately after his return from England, he was elected one of their town magistrates; and during the remainder of his life, he was almost con-

stantly employed in public business, either of town or colony. Against his moral character, nothing has ever been alleged, even by his most inveterate enemies. Nor would it seem, that it was in any respect impeachable; had it been, he never wanted enemies to blazon it abroad. The uniform confidence which was reposed in him by his fellow citizens, affords the strongest reason to believe, that it was so; while his frequent acceptance of public offices, indubitably disproves the idle charge made against him, that he was opposed to all magistracy.

His opinions on religion were peculiar. It is impossible, perhaps, for any one at this day, fully to comprehend them. During his life, they were the subject of much speculation. His opponents imputed to him, religious tenets, which he repudiated; and in many instances, what they insisted were necessary inferences from his opinions, though denied by him to be such, were, without any circumlocution, set down among his heresies. Morton, in New-England's Memorial, page 203, Davis's edition, gives a summary of what he called Gorton's opinions. The first edition of that work was published during Gorton's life; and this summary drew from him a reply, which may be found in Appendix, No. XI. Those persons who wish to exercise their talents, in unravelling the mysticism of his religious opinions, are referred to his "Incorruptible Key, composed of the 110th Psalm," printed in London, 1647; his "Saltmarsh returned from the Dead," printed in 1655; his "Antidote against the Common Plague of the World," printed in 1656; and his "Antidote against Pharisaical Teachers." These are believed to be all the works he published, except the Narrative now re-printed. He prepared for the press, a Commentary on the Lord's Prayer, a manuscript consisting of several hundred pages, which is now in the possession of the Rhode-Island Historical Society. Allen, in his Biographical Dictionary, (article "Gorton,") says, that he was the author of another work, entitled, "A Glass for the people of New-England," printed in 1676. In Bishop's "New-England Judged," this is said to be the production of Samuel Grove, or Grover. That he occasionally preached at Warwick, both before and after his return from England, is highly probable. That he frequently preached while in England, appears from his letter to Morton, before referred to.

The persecution which he suffered for his religious opinions, did not lead him to be intolerant towards those who differed from him. There are but few who have passed through that ordeal of their faith, who have not been ready, as soon as they attained the power, to impose it upon others. That he was an enthusiast in his opinions, there can be no doubt; so were his opponents, in theirs. Each defended his own opinions, and attacked those

of his antagonists, with a bitterness which would not now be tolerated; and each should be judged' not by what we should now deem proper, but by what was considered so in their times. According to the genius and temper of those times, Gorton mingled much gall with the ink he bestowed on his adversaries; yet, when he had attained the power, it seemed he wanted the will to compel them to conform to him, either in faith or practice. His sentiments on this subject, and also on the necessity and power of Magistrates, may be gathered from the following extracts from the introduction to his "Incorruptible Key." "Observe," says he, "diligently in this treatise, that it gives all power and dominion unto the Son of God, both in heaven and in earth: so it also gives (notwithstanding) due authority to all civil magistrates; without which, their right cannot be given unto them, if their place and office, be not bounded within the compass and lists of civil things. For Christ's power and authority is spiritual; so that if once the magistrate be engaged, by virtue of that his office, to deal in the things of God, and to intermeddle between God and the consciences of men; he is then also bound over in conscience, to subdue to the uttermost of his power, all other civil States unto himself; and to engage them to serve and worship the same God he serves, whatever idol he hath set up unto himself, or his Levitical priests have framed and fashioned for him; and so must of necessity, greed and endeavor after the subjecting of all civil States unto himself; else doth he not deal faithfully with his God. * * But keep the office of the magistracy, (according to sobriety) within the compass of civil things; that is, to have relation to whatever concerns the relation between creature and creature, simply as they stand in reference one unto another in that respect; and then in that way only, it is the preservation and honor of all States, in their several ways of rule and government. * * So that by how much the civil magistrate interests his office into the Gospel, as an order thereof, by so much he doth arrogate unto himself the glory of God, if things succeed well: for unto Christ it cannot be given, but as a general hand of Providence, which reacheth to all creatures: for his kingdom, rule and authority is not of this world; but is spiritual, as he himself is spiritual."

Nor does it appear, that differences of opinion on religion, excluded any from his benevolence and charity. In 1656, four of the early Quakers arrived in Boston. Before they landed, officers were dispatched by the Governor, to bring them on shore. After being examined, they were committed to prison, there to remain till the return of the ship that brought them; and then, to be carried back to England; "lest," says Gorton, "the purity of the religion, professed in the Churches of New-England, should be defiled with error." There is conclusive evidence that Gorton

was not a Quaker. Though agreeing, with that sect, in the rejection of church ordinances, and perhaps in some few other points, he differed from them in many more, and in some of those deemed most essential. With the individuals imprisoned at Boston, he had no personal acquaintance. No sectarian views or private friendship, therefore, could have induced him to correspond with them. Yet on the 16th of September, 1656, he addressed to them the following letter:

"Christian Friends,—The report of your demeanor, with some others of the same mind with you, formerly put in possession of the place of your present abode, as is reported to us, as also the errand you profess you come with, into these parts, hath much taken my heart; so that I cannot withhold my hand from expressing its desires after you; which present habitation of yours, ourselves have had a proof of, from like grounds and reasons, that have possessed you thereof, under which in some measure we still remain in point of banishment, under pain of death, out of these parts; a prohibition from that liberty which no Christian ought to be infringed of. And though we have a larger room, in bodily respects, than for present yourselves have; yet we desire to see the prison doors open, before we attempt to go out, either by force or stealth, or by entreaty; which we doubt not but the bolts will fly back in the best season, both in regard of yourselves and us: but we apprize more of the appearance of an evident hand of God, exalting himself in his own way, than we do of our bodily livelihood: for we fear not the face of man, for God hath shewed us what all flesh is; otherwise we would visit you in the place where you remain, though we came unto you on our bare feet; or any that professeth the Lord Jesus, opposing his authority against all the powers of darkness. If God have brought you into these parts, as instruments to open the excellencies of the tabernacle, wherever the cloud causeth you to abide, no doubt but this your imprisonment shall be an effectual preface to your work, to bring the gainsayers to nought; which my soul waits for, not with respect to any particular man's person, but with respect unto that universal spirit of wickedness gone out into the world, to deceive and tyrannize; and in that respect my soul saith, O Lord, I have waited for thy salvation: the bringing to nought of which spirit, is ever made manifest in the blessing of the tribes; for the sceptre of Israel is never erected but in bringing to nought the crown of pride, which Dan or true judgment, ever brings to nought, by our spiritual Sampson.

"I may not presume to use a word of exhortation unto you, being I had rather (as having more need) to be admonished by you, not doubting but you are plentifully enabled to admonish one another: let me make bold to say thus much to myself, Stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord:

we are persons who lie here as buried unto the sons of men, in a corner of the earth; grudged at, that we have this present burying place: But our God may please to send some of his saints unto us, to speak words, which the dead hearing them, shall live. I may not trouble you further at this time, only if we knew that you had a mind to stay in these parts after your enlargement, (for we hear you are to be sent back for England) and what time the ship would set sail, or could have hope the master would deliver you, we would endeavor to have a vessel in readiness, when the ship goeth out of harbor, to take you in, and set you where you may enjoy your liberty.

"I marvel what manner of God your adversaries trust in, who is so fearful of being infected with error; or how they think they shall escape the wiles and power of the Devil, when the arm of flesh fails them, whereby they seek to defend themselves for the present; sure, they think their God will be grown to more power and care over them, in and after death; or else they will be loth to pass through it; but I leave them, and in spirit cleave unto him, (as being in you) who is ever the same, all-sufficient:

"In whom I am yours, SAMUEL GORTON."

On the 24th of the same month, they returned an answer; from which the following is an extract:

"Friend: the Lord hath drawn forth our hearts, to this place in much love, knowing in the light, that he hath a great seed among you, though scattered up and down; and are as sheep without a shepherd, and you are travelling from mountain to hill, in your wisdom and imaginations, the resting place being not yet known, nor cannot be known by the highest wisdom of the world, but in the denial of it; for there is something underneath, which is not, nor cannot be satisfied with all the divings into the mystery of the things declared in the Scriptures of Truth, which is the man of God's portion, and was given to that, to profit withal, that it might be thoroughly furnished to every good word and work; but this is too low a thing for those which are high in their wisdom and knowledge, which they can hardly stoop unto, that is, to become fools that they may be wise, that the pure wisdom may dwell with them forevermore.

"But the Lord is come, and coming, to level the mountains, and to rend the rocks of wisdom and knowledge, and to exalt that which is low and foolish to the wisdom of the world; and blessed shalt thou, and all those be, who meet him in this his work, which he is doing in the earth, and in this place, wherein thou now dwellest, in setting up the King, the Lord of Hosts, to reign in righteousness; for his tabernacle shall be among men, and he will dwell in them, and walk in them, and he will be their God, and

they shall be his people, from henceforth even forever. Now to that which thou writes to us, to know our minds to stay in these parts, we are unwilling to go out of these parts, if here we could be suffered to stay; but we are willing to mind the Lord, what way he will take for our staying, and if he in wisdom shall raise thee up, and others for that end, we shall be willing to accept of it: but what the master of the ship will do in the thing, we know not: they endeavoring to force him to enter into bond of £500, to set us ashore in England, which he did at first refuse, for which they sent him to prison without bail and mainprize, as we are informed; but since, he doth proffer his own bond, but they will not at present accept it without security besides, to be bound with him; for they are afraid that we should be set ashore in these parts again; therefore they make their bond as strong as they can, but the Lord knows a way to break their bonds asunder. The master hath been writ unto and warned that he should not enter into bond, which if he did not, it would be as a crown of honor upon his head, but if he doth, the Lord knows how to defeat them and him too: Now what he doth is out of a slavish fear, because he would not lie in prison, and hinder his voyage; but if the bond hinder him not, he would have been willing to have delivered us, and we should have been willing to have satisfied him, which we did proffer him; and if he be not hindered, the ship will be ready to set sail, about fourteen days hence; but at present, the master doth not know what to do; their demands being so unjust, to force him to carry us, and they not to pay him for it, nor we shall not, and yet will not take his own bond, but will have security besides; so that he and they are troubled with a burthensome stone, the ark of God doth afflict them; send it away they would, but yet they are not agreed what to do with it; so we shall leave thee to be guided by that Wisdom which governs all men and things, according to the counsel of his own will, and bringeth his purposes to pass, by whom and in whom he pleaseth.

"From the servants and messengers of the Lord, whom he hath sent and brought by the arm of his power into these parts of the world, for which we suffer bonds and close imprisonment, none suffered to speak or confer with us, nor scarce to see us, being locked up in the inward prison, as the jailer pretends, because we do not deliver our ink-horns, although he hath taken away three from us already, and will not suffer us to burn our own candles, but takes them away from us, because we shall not write in the night; though we are strangers to thee, and others in this place, yet seen and known in the light, yet known in the world by these names.

From the Common Jail in Boston, this 28 of seventh, 1656.

WILLIAM BREND,
THOMAS THURSTON,
CHRISTOP. HOLDER,
JOHN COPELAND.

P. S. We, and all the rest of Friends with us, remember their love to thee, and if thou hast freedom, let us hear from thee.

On the 6th of October, Gorton sent them another letter, directed, "To the strangers, suffering imprisonment, in Boston, for the name of Christ;" from which the following extract is taken.

"Loving Friends,—We have thankfully received your late and loving letters, but are informed that since the penning of them, the master of the ship is engaged with two of Boston, bound with him, to set you ashore in England; so that we perceive God hath diverted our desired design, we doubt not but for the best, in a further discovery of that spirit so wickedly bent to hinder (if it were possible) the fruitful progress of the grace of the gospel; and it may be, the name given unto you (we know not upon what ground) may come through an unalterable appointment, to be the natural practice of such as so deal with you, when the terrors of the Almighty shall take hold of them."

This correspondence was published by Gorton, in 1657, as an Appendix to his "Antidote against the Common Plague of the World." The sentiments and feelings which it displays, are the more to be honored and appreciated, because in his times, and in this country especially, they were seldom avowed.

Of the private history of Gorton, very little can be gleaned, even from tradition. The following extract is from the manuscript Itinerary of the late Dr. Ezra Styles. It is the testimony of the last of Gorton's disciples, and must put at rest every doubt of Gorton's sincerity in his religious belief, and induce a more favorable estimate of his character.

"At Providence, Nov. 18, 1771. I visited aged Mr. John Angell, ae. 80, born Oct. 18, 1691, a plain, blunt-spoken man: right old English frankness. He is not a Quaker, nor Baptist, nor Presbyterian, but a Gortonist, and the only one I have seen. Gorton lives now only in him: his only disciple left. He says, that he knows of no other, and that he is alone. He gave me an account of Gorton's disciples, first and last, and shewed me some of Gorton's printed books and some of his manuscripts. He said, Gorton wrote in Heaven, and no one can understand his writings, but those who live in Heaven, while on earth. He said Gorton had beat down all outward ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, with unanswerable demonstration; that Gorton preached in London, in Oliver's time, and had a Church and living of £500 a year, offered him, but he believed no sum would have tempted him to take a farthing for preaching. He told me, that his grandfather, Thomas Angell, came from Salem to Providence with Roger Williams, that Gorton did not agree with Roger Williams, who was for out-

ward ordinances to be set up again by new apostles. I asked him if Gorton was a Quaker; as he seemed to agree with them, in rejecting outward ordinances. He said, no; and that when George Fox (I think) or one of the first Friends came over, he went to Warwick to see Gorton, but was a mere babe to Gorton. The Friends had come out of the world, in some ways, but still were in darkness or twilight, but that Gorton was far beyond them, he said, high way up to the dispensation of light. The Quakers were in no wise to be compared with him; nor any man else can, since the primitive times of the Church, especially since they came out of Popish darkness. He said, Gorton was a holy man; wept day and night for the sins and blindness of the world; his eyes were a fountain of tears, and always full of tears—a man full of thought and study—had a long walk out through the trees or woods by his house, where he constantly walked morning and evening, and even in the depth of the night, alone by himself, for contemplation and the enjoyment of the dispensation of light. He was universally beloved by all his neighbors, and the Indians, who esteemed him, not only as a friend, but one high in communion with God in Heaven, and indeed he lived in Heaven."

It will be scarcely necessary to remind the reader; that in reckoning the months according to Old Style, February was called the twelfth, and March the first: the year commencing on the 25th of March. In the Notes, the computation of the year and month is made according to New Style.

SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

AGAINST

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR

INNOCENCY VINDICATED, BEING UNJUSTY ACCUSED AND SORELY CENSURED, BY THAT

SEVEN-HEADED CHURCH GOVERNMENT

UNITED IN

NEW-ENGLAND:

OR

THAT SERVANT SO IMPERIOUS IN HIS MASTER'S ABSENCE, REVIVED, AND NOW THUS RE-ACTING IN NEW-ENGLAND.

OR

The Combate of the United Colonies, not onely against some of the Natives and Subjects, but against the authority also of the Kingdome of England, with their execution of Laws, in the name and authority of the Servant, (or of themselves) and not in the name and authority of the LORD, or fountain of the Government.

Wherein is declared an Act of a Great People and Country of the INDIANS in those parts, both Princes and People (unanimously) in their voluntary submission and subjection unto the protection and Government of Old England, (from the fame they hear thereof) together with the true manner and forme of it, as it appears under their own hands and seals; being stirred up, and provoked thereto, by the combate and courses abovesaid.

Throughout which Treatise is secretly intermingled, that great Opposition, which is in the goings forth of those two grand Spirits, that are, and ever have been, extant in the World, (through the sons of men) from the beginning and foundation thereof.

Imprimatur, Aug. 3d, 1646. Diligently perused, approved, and licensed to the Presse, according to order, by publike authority.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN MACOCK, and are to be sold by LUKE FAVVNE, at his Shop in *Paul's Church-yard*, at the sign of the *Parrot*. 1646.

SIMPLICITIES DEFENCE

AGAINST

SEVEN-HEADED POLICY.

OR

A TRUE COMPLAINT OF A PEACEABLE PEOPLE, BEING PART OF THE ENGLISH IN NEW-ENGLAND, MADE UNTO THE STATE OF OLD ENGLAND, AGAINST CRUELL PERSECUTORS,

UNITED IN CHURCH-GOVERNMENT

IN THOSE PARTS.

Wherein is made manifest the manifold outrages, cruelties, oppressions, and taxations, by cruell and close imprisonments, fire and sword, deprivation of goods, lands, and livelyhood; and such like barbarous inhumanities, exercised upon the people of Providence Plantations in the Nanhyganset Bay, by those of the Massachusetts, with the rest of the United Colonies, stretching themselves beyond the bounds of all their own jurisdictions, perpetrated and acted in such an unreasonable and barbarous manner, as many thereby have lost their lives.

As it hath been faithfully declared to the Honorable Committee of Lords and Commons for Forrain Plantations; whereupon they gave present order for redress.

The sight and consideration whereof hath moved a great Country of the Indians and Natives in those parts, Princes and people, to submit unto the crown of England, and earnestly to sue to the State thereof, for safeguard and shelter from like cruelties.

Imprimatur, Aug. 3d, 1646. Diligently perused, approved, and licensed to the Presse, according to order, by publike authority.

LONDON:

Printed by JOHN MACOCK, and are to be sold by GEORGE WHITTINGTON, at the blue *Anchor*, neer the Royal *Exchange*, in *Cornhil.* 1647.

To the Right Honourable, the Earl of Warwick, Lord High Admirall of England, and Governour in chiefe of the English Plantations in America, and upon the coasts thereof; and to the rest of that honourable Committee, joyned in commission with his Excellencie, for the well ordering, government and safety of Forrain Plantations.[1]

RIGHT HONORABLE,

According to the fame we have heard of you, so have we found in you, a spirit of tendernesse and compassion towards the oppressed, which ever springs from the courage and fortitude of a heart resolute to suppresse the oppressor, be his power and policie what it may; whilst men unsensible of the cause of the needy, ever stand in readinesse to side with the strongest partie, and so, as occasion serves, to become one with the cruell, venting the same spirit, which for advantage can easily transform it selfe, so as if power comply with the just man's cause, the vizard of hypocrisie is soon put on by such, either to become dumb and silent, or else to speak so as may best advantage it selfe, let the cause be what it will. Your wisdom and noble care in those weighty affairs committed to your trust, commands and binds us over to make a more particular and full relation (than

[1] See copy of act of Parliament appointing this committee, in Appendix, No. 12.—S.

formerly we have done) of what hath passed betwixt some other colonies in New England and our selves; that if it be possible to find any leisure hours in a crowd of so great imployments, your Honours might be pleased to take a more full view of things; in the mean time we stand humbly ingaged, as we have done; and ever shall in any service, that what we are, or have, can tender to the honour and peace of our native country, or to any true-hearted well wisher thereof; and if no other service (we can) may be acceptable, yet of this imployment none shall prevent us (whilst our God gives us hearts) daily to pray for you.

Your Honours' most humble servants, the Inhabitants of Shaw-omet, whose names are often expressed in this narration.

THE EPISTLE TO THE READER.

Courteous Reader—

Doe not thinke that we delight to lay open the infirmitie and weaknesse of men (except our weaknesses and infirmities as the Son of God sustained them) any further, nor to other end, but as they serve to discover and lay open that one spirit of the God of this world, which now works effectually in the children of disobedience; which spirit in all its severall wayes of operation, may be gathered up, and centred in, that son of perdition, yea, in that seven-headed and ten horned beast, whose power and policie like unto that deluge in the old world, hath so long overspread the face of the earth, swallowing up in death every living thing that hath its motion upon the earth, after or according to the flesh.

Nor can any be offended justly with us (no, not our adversaries themselves) for making this true narration of things that have passed amongst us, of which this treatise truly speaks; for actions performed, wherein men have cause to glory, the further they spread, the more satisfactory to the agents; nor are actions of such public nature seldom performed, but to such end and purpose; for if they be good they ought not only to be reall and essentiall in them amongst whom they are acted and done, but also presidentiall and exemplary unto others wherever the fame of them may come; and if they be evill, then a whorish Forehead must needs accompany them, being done in the light of the Sun, and then can no wise man be offended, that a way marke is cast up, to give notice of such desperate and dan-

gerous wayes, unless himselfe be of the same spirit, and is about, or else waits for, an opportunity, for the like design.

Thou art entreated therefore not to looke upon this treatise, as simply matter of history, but as matter of mysterie also; for, as it was acted to make manifest the operations and workings of a different spirit, to that end it is published also; so that if it be narrowly looked into, not only a savour of that mysterie of iniquitie will appeare (which alwayes works effectually to the same end and purpose, namely, to extinguish and put out the light of divine truth, wheresoever or in whomsoever it appears) but thou will find some footsteps also of that great mysterie of God, whose bright beams of light wherever made manifest, declare the men of the world to sit in the shadow of death. Though the mysterie of iniquitie works not alwayes in the same manner and forme, nay seldom any long time together, without taking a new face, and using the art of transformation of it selfe into one and another shape; and herein lies the policie of Sathan, that when some time hath been spent (yea, it may be an age) in hopes and expectation of glorious times of peace, ease, and exaltation, from the mouths of lying prophets, who always drive the peace, power, and principality of the kingdome of God, some certain time before them, or at the least before the common people, (as they call them,) as though they themselves were the onely men that for the present were admitted into the counsells and secrets of the kingdome of God, and the people to take it from their report, where and when, the appearance shall be.

But when the world by due proof, finds their predictions to fail, and sees troups of its ancestors go down to the grave, not having the possession put into their hand, it then works effectually for a transformation, to cast its worship of God into another forme, wherein it hopes in shorter time for to attaine him; in which state it cannot rest to wait, unlesse it hath the strongest partie according to the power of

the arm of flesh on its side, and therefore must of necessity labor diligently, as for life, to borrow a coercive power from the civil magistrate, to be transferred, turned over and put into their hands, whereby they may subdue others, and compell them to follow their way, and to acknowledge their worship to be onely divine, yea the onely God of the world; for there is but one divinitie, which they have now made and set up unto themselves; or else, that the civil magistrate will be pleased to detain and keep his own power upon this condition, (binding him unto themselves) that he shall not fail to bind the hands and tongues, yea and hearts also (if they can but search and know what is in them) that none shall be permitted to intermeddle or any way to disturb them; but they may peaceably worship, every man in his garden, and under such a green tree as he shall choose unto himselfe, being fearfull of trouble and disquiet, not knowing better, but that the crosse of Christ is terrible; as though the Sonne of God had not taken away the terror and angry face of it, putting no lesse disparagement upon him, but as though the sting were in death still, being ignorant of this, how that by death he overcomes death, even until now.

The reason why the civil magistrate is so sought after, and (as I may truly say) troubled, if not tortured, in the depopulation of kingdoms and losse of true-hearted subjects by the Church, in her formalities and perfunctory worships, is this; a naturall heart conceives the condition of the Church of Christ, to be like a commonweal or kingdome, which cannot be well, unlesse every individuall within such naturall and terrene confines, agree in one, for the well being and glory of each particular in the whole; so that the humble submission of every subject becomes one, in that one heart and spirit of the king, who submits to the deniall of himselfe (in any thing) for the preservation of the whole; and that one heart, courage and magnanimity of the king is in every individuall of the kingdome, to go forth for the hon-

our, peace and preservation, of that their one lord; and so it is in the true Church rightly considered in its relation to the King of Saints, truly considered in spirituall and not in terrene respects; but that naturall spirit that works in a naturall, changeable and vanishing church, judgeth of its peace according to the consent of all within the compasse of such naturall bounds and terrene confines as itself resides and abides in; and therefore, the false prophet is said to be the tail, because which way the honorable person looks, or the head of the place where he is (according to man) he always steers the body of the people, yea though it be but the body of the beast that way, that he may have strength according to sense on his side, not knowing how to live or walk according to the power of faith; therefore must either have all (if it be possible) or at least the greatest both for authority and number on his side; for he sees not the blessing of the divine presence that goes with the ark of God, though among many adversaries in the wildernesse; therefore will he take up nothing but the tabernacle of Moloch, (or as the word is) bear the boothe of the king; that is, what manner of house soever, authority and civil power erecteth, for worship, he is ready to take up and bear upon his shoulders; so that Antichrist hath as many wayes of worship, as there is or hath been formes of religion in the world; and in that the seed of the serpent crusheth the heel, (or as the word is) the print of the footsoal, of Christ, or seed of the woman; for wherever the footsteps of our Lord have gone, the wisdome of the serpent in reforming its religion casts it into a forme, and so denies the power of godlinesse, tying the Lord Jesus to appeare in the very same print and character again; whereas the saints wait for his power in what way or form he pleaseth to make it known and manifest in and unto them; therefore the visions and apparitions of God in the Holy Scriptures, are never twice in the same form, (all circumstances considered) yea, if our Saviour ap-

peare one time walking upon the sea, as though all things of necessity must bear up their Lord, he appeares again under the hands of Herod, Pontius Pilate, and the Jews, thrust down into the heart of the earth, as Jonah into the midst of the sea, as though all things conspired together to annihilate and bring him to nought; and in the one and the other appeares an aptitude even in the disciples themselves to mistake, and in this the world is altogether mistaken, in that he walketh upon, and raiseth himself up out of wayes they know not how such things can be, to make manifest his power and authority to be that of the Sonne of God, who rules in the midst of his enemies and out of Egypt, Babylon, Rahab, Palestina, Tyre and Ethiopia, is brought forth, so that it may be said this man was born there, even as the truth of the Gospel hath been brought forth in those parts; which our Jewish reformers of religion by putting Christ to death, could never have thought of or apprehended, nor will they (were it never so plainly told unto them) believe it; so that in this treatise you may plainly see, how the mystery of iniquitie already works, even in New England, which thought itself the root of reformation of all the world, even as Babylon, alwayes in the entrance of her compulsive contraction, artificiall and self seeking, conjecturall reformation, sets herself up as a queen, and thinks never to see widdow-hood or sorrow more, if she can but with all her art and learning, keep the magistrate's conscience in bonds, to use all his power and civil policie, for her wealth, to get riches and honour, to lord it over men's consciences and peace, that she may sit in safety and rest, to inlarge her barns and take her pleasure in the things of this life; never dreaming that even in that night of grosse darknesse, her soul shall be snatched away from her; and then whose shall all those things be, whereof she hath framed such a service of God to herself, that must all leave her at death; even such as for the most part, if not all (by

her own acknowledgment) fail, and never passe along with her into the kingdom; and then must the either have a new God, or else find out a new way of submission unto him, whom she hath seemed so zealously to serve; such is that spirit of the mystery of iniquity, the goings forth whereof hath forced this treatise to come to the light and view of the world, as a warning to all Christians, to take heed of being beguiled by a voluntary humility in worshipping of Angels, messengers or ministers, who labor to make men subject to the rudiments of the world in outward observation, as touch not, taste not, handle not, rearing up a fabric of ordinances in divine worship, of such things which do perish in the use, neglecting the body which is Christ, to the satisfying of the wisdom of the flesh in these things, through which the spirit of the serpent multiplies itself into that threefold spirit which comes out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, imitating that kingly, priestly, and propheticall spirit that is by Jesus Christ, beguiling the world with its uncleannesse, in adulterating the word of God, by bringing it into carnall copulation with earthly, transitory, momentary, fading and vanishing things: wo is unto them because thereof, who like unto frogs, will never appear, hold up their heads, or utter a voyce, but where the heat and lustre of the civil magistrate, brings forth a pleasant, fruitfull and prosperous estate and condition, in the things that onely concern the present life.

Again, if thou look narrowly into this treatise, there is a possibility to perceive in it, some glimpse of the light of that spirit that openeth and unfoldeth the mystery of God, especially when it taketh up any scriptures; look diligently upon what hinge it turneth, and you shall see a doore open, another way, yea a nearer and shorter cut to the kingdom of God, than the common ministery of this world driveth at; and think it not strange, if Jesus appeare in such places,

and at ruch time, where and when the doores are not onely shut, but fast bolted unto the world, as a thing impossible, that his seal and substantiall (though spirituall) body should come, in such a way and so unlooked for being, that in Sodom and Egypt our LORD is crucified and put to death; yea, let me advise thee as once our LORD did, handle them carefully and skilfully, ponder, poise and feel the weight of them; taste, try and consider, whether the reality and substantiality of Christ be not there; sure I am that if the ministrie or service of a Christian spirit lay hands on them, and put itself into them even as a graft is put into the stock, it shall find a plain proof, argument and demonstration undenyable, of the apparition and revelation of the Son of GOD, returned from death unto life, never to die any more; unto whom I leave thee (in the communication of whose resurrection the second death can never exercise power) with my harty wishes for all those who have learned the truth as it is in Jesus, and know that elsewhere no truth (that is Christ's) can be found, for that only abideth forever, and is eternized in all the lineaments and whole proportion of it; and happy is he who has so learned Christ, Amen.

S. G.

Upon an occasional view, of this unexpected and much unwished for story.

This story's strange, but altogether true;
Old England's saints are banish'd out of New;
Oh, monstrous art, and cunning of the devill,
What hidden paths he goes to spread his evill!
The man of sin's the same, his eldest son;
Both have more shapes than be motes in the sun.
Hence, disappointed, are the most of men;
When trouble's past, (some thinke) they rise agen.
Thus it befell these pilgrims, in that land
To which they fled, from persecution's hand.
This, Indians note, with Papists, Jews and Turks,
For in them all, the selfe-same spirit works:
Thus, is the name of Christ, blasphem'd, by these
Who burden them, to whom they promise ease.
  Oh, Christ, arise, and spread thy glorious fame,
That all may know the sweetnesse of thy name:
As—Affric, Europe and America
Expect! and waite the dawnings of that day,
That Papists, Greeks and we the Protestants
Of Calvin's sect, those too, the Lutherans,
And they that are a straine above them all,
At Jesus' feet, at length may humbly fall,
That so such Christs, which, most in fancy make
(When tis (men think) that Christemdom doth shake)

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May at th' appearing of the Lord depart,
And all may worship him ev'n with one heart;
That so the nations may this glory see;
And into it, at length, transformed be.
This to effect, can't be by sword of man,
But that, which to withstand, no kingdomes can;
For 'tis the Lord's own might, the sword that doth
E'en with two edges flow out of God's mouth,
By which, are slaine the wicked of each land,
And will sure breake each persecutor's band.
  Then England and yee nations round about
That are now so lofty and so stout:
At length downefall to him, that's Lord of you;
And learne with him, like meeknesse for to show.
If you with iron rods, saints break and bruise,
Know then your selves, that Christ you so will use.

R. B.

A lover of peace, and one of eminent respect, viewing this treatise at the presse, kindly added this verse prefixed, which hath both sodainly and unexpectedly drawn from my thoughts as here followeth, as a testimony of my kind respects unto the party, though but a stranger unto him ; it may also serve as an intelligencer, what was the only ground of controversy in acting unto and publishing of this treatise.

THE serpent hath a voyce, so slie and fine
Consults with Nature, as though he were divine,
Whilst she doth seek for glory, wealth and love
In things that are below, and not in that above;
Lending an ear* to listen unto him,
The fruit looks fair, the tree seems nothing grim:
And thence doth he, at first begin t'arise
Through earthly projects, for to make man wise,
Whereas the light of heaven, God himself ordained
To be that thing, whereby man is maintained
In wisdom, honor, happiness and peace
That doth from serpent (sin, death, hell) release:
And not, conjectural, doubtful, subtil notion
Set forth by art with sign of great devotion.

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*Hence doth arise the way of Solomon's harlot set out in the way of this woman—Gen. iii. Prov. vii., who may not speake in the Church, but usurpeth—1 Tim. ii.

Come from the Prelates* your persecuting foes;
Our Church (as primitive) Christ Jesus doth disclose.
Her ordinances pure, a Church erected here,
Where you may worship, voyd of care or fear.
Our land is large; our magistracy good;
Come o'er, to save that innocent like blood
From such as are to cruelty so bent.
Our ways are meek and humble, to give all content;
Thus he appears, apparelled in white,
To snare in that, wherein he takes delight.
An earthly kingdom, he would fain erect,
Then, spiritual honor, he must needs reject.

That when that woman† appeareth in her glory
With him in womb, of whom intreats all story,
Then he's a dragon red, for to devour
That child, to whom is given all the power
In heaven and in earth, to rule as King and Lord.
None to the serpent, no, heaven cannot afford
A place of residence, he must hence depart
Down to the earth, full sore against his heart,
That he a place cannot devise to frame
Which from the heavens may seem to take its fame.
Cruel, raging, carnal, now he cometh forth,
His slie and subtil wisdom now proves nothing worth.
This woman now in travail, finds not time
To listen unto him, nought but the child is mine;
Which child in her can nothing else confesse
But throne of Glory‡ and bare wildernesse;

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*The serpent's voyce transmits into New England, speaking there in way of ministers, as at the beginning.

†In this woman is set out the way of King Lemuel's mother, that teacheth prophecy, Rev. xii. Prov. xxxi. who may prophecy in the Church without usurpation, 1 Cor. xi.

‡ For the one betakes itself to heaven and the other to the wilderness.

Which twain together, give all praise to one;
Then fury's in the serpent, smooth policy is gone;
No middle place for Sathan now is found,
Not one with the man-child; down he goes to ground.
His cunning cannot now entice so far,
But Michael and his angels will make war
With Dragon, and with all his angels great,
Yea, overcome him, never sound retreat.
  Most of his skill he useth,* he knows how
To talk of benefits to receive, although not now;
And so from place and person still delights to wend
Where's outward peace, there's Christ doth he pretend;
And if so be that troubles do arise,
Himself he saves, the serpent is so wise;
No tie, no fold, nor flock he then will know;
Christ in an earthly place, he'll have, where'er he go.
  Whereas our Lord, his voyce doth sometimes teach
Go to Decapolis,† and there thou shalt me preach
Unto ten‡ cities, great the number bee,
My word shall reach them, and I am with thee.
  For I am truth, and truth thou goest to show,
Which makes thee free, my presence thou dost know.
No place can scant thee off; then walk at large,
Doubt not, I'm with thee, do but keep my charge.
The nations shall come forth at once, yea at one birth,
Truth in the change of one, reneweth all the earth;
Else, were not perfect good, in every one erect,
Nor sinne were full, through th' fall, that great defect,

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*He ever puts off the day of the Lord, as not yet the time to build the temple, but would live in his own ceiled (or artificial) house of his own framing and device.

†Though he desired to be with Jesus, yet Jesus, understanding his desire to be but nature, that is, to enjoy him according to the flesh, denies him that, that so he might be with him according to the spirit. Matt. xxviii. 20

‡For so the word Decapolis signifies ten cities.

If change of one, were not a world renewed,
What nation, then, not brought in and subdued,
When truth is published, though but unto one
Embraced, received? Oh happy state of man,
All Gentile jewels, brought in, who can want;
The world's in darknesse else, could ne'er be scant.
  But hypocrites cannot this thing digest,
In places, times and persons, they seek wealth and rest,
And see not how the mighty LORD above
Hath cast his skirt o'er Ruth, yea, fill'd her lap in love;
Of whom comes Christ, that world of GOD's good will,
What can she want, that heaven and earth doth fill?
All keepe their stations, attend as they have done,
Neglect no homage, or service to the Son,
All bring their virtues, treasures and their glory
Centr'ng them all in him, a world of princely dowry;
Then walke through sea or land, by friends or foes
Let prisons fast, hard irons thee, inclose,
All take thy part, yea, plead thy cause for thee;
The world vents its malice, in Christ's love thou art free.
  The spirit of this world, by these things come to light;
Its pomp and glory, which erst did shine so bright,
Appears grosse darknesse unto Christian eyes;
Down comes its kingdome, up goes its plaints and cries,
Help, sword and gun, else doth our kingdome fall,
Court, fire, gangrena,* we taste wormwood and gall.
No marvel, for Christ in his native kind
Set forth, declared unto a carnal mind,
Appears as odious unto such a wight
As sinne to Him, in whom is found the light.
What sentence shall be given then by sons of men,
When truth appears, if power were found in them?

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*Books so intituled, written upon uncertain reports, tales and conjectures to cure the Church.

No power but that of darknesse, then, let us to them ascribe
What's in the Church's our Lord's, all unto them deny'd.
Take heed, ye judg of blasphemies aright,
For light discerns, the darknesse has no sight.
If light and candlesticke, you know not how t' make one,
Suspend your judgment, all your skill is gone,
And let the judge of all, his circuit passe apace,
Who comes not to destroy, such is his grace!
And let that man his own destruction be,
Who breaks that faith with God, cannot be pieced by thee.
Cease then your prosecutions, seek ye to do good;
Save life in any, in Church ways spill not blood
In Christ, if you consider, the Covenant of God,
You'll find that all compulsion, is nought but that Nimrod.*

S. G.[1]

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*A mere hunting of men, to worry your own kind (or rather that hind of the morning, see Psa. xxii. in the title) thirsting after the precious life.—Compare Gen. x. 8, 9, with Jer. xvi. 16.

[1] If Gorton's cotemporaries had accused him of "having no call" as a poet, it would have been difficult to have repelled the charge. He would, however, have been tried by his peers in poetry, if tried by those, who, at that time wooed the muses in New England.—S.

INNOCENCY'S DEFENCE

AGAINST A SEVEN-HEADED CHURCH GOVERNMENT

UNITED IN NEW-ENGLAND.

The moderation of New England's justice, desired to be known to all men, and what are the principal things pretended in the execution thereof, namely to suppress heretics, and to confirm that to be truth, which the unity of the most colonies hold; plainly declaring and setting forth to the view of all, what is the proper bent and drift of that spirit that digs so deep to hide its sin in secret, which so affecteth to assume titles unto itself and also to give, at their pleasure, unto others; to make themselves appear, in the eyes of men, more holy and honorable in the things of God, than others of their brethren; commonly crying out against that power exercised amongst others, for no other end but to assume it unto themselves, to cloth the dictates of that spirit therewith, whereby themselves are led, and so to exercise it with all zeal and wrath in the life, spirit and substance of it, only with another face or countenance set upon it to deceive and beguile the simple; not being able to endure the air, where Cap, Tippet, or Upper-shirt appeareth, but can bathe themselves in blood and feed themselves fat, by devouring the good name, estates and lives of their brethren, who neither do, nor think harm unto them, nor reside within the compass of any of their jurisdictions, evidently proved by a late assault given by the men of the Massachusetts and other colonies united for such a purpose, upon others of their countrymen inhabitants of a tract of land

called Shaw-omet, situate in the Narraganset Bay in New England; the truth whereof this treatise witnesseth, and the substance of all is to be seen under their own hand writing, as also in the writings of others, who were eye and ear witnesses in the cause, and have testified under their hands, the truth of it.

[Here followeth a narration of the men of Shawomet concerning the ground of transplanting of themselves and families, and of their first entrance into that part of America now called New-England.]

Whereas we removed ourselves and families out of our native country about ten or twelve years ago [1] by the leave of this State, not only to enjoy the liberty of our consciences in respect to our faith towards God, and for no other end, not scrupling any civil ordinance for the education, ordering or government of any civil State.

Landing by the Providence of God at Boston in the Massachusetts Bay, we found our countrymen at great variance in point of religion, prosecuting it very hotly in their public courts, unto fines and banishments, occasioning men thereby much to vent and bring forth themselves, and we understanding that they had formerly banished one Master Roger Williams,[2] a man of good report both for life and doctrine,

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[1] The first purchasers of Shawomet, were Randall Holden, John Greene, John Weeks, Francis Weston, Samuel Gorton, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Robert Potter, Nicholas Power and William Waddle or Woodeal. Of these, Greene, Weston, Waterman and Power were among the first settlers of Providence. The remarks in the text, apply only to a part of the Shawomet purchasers. In subsequent notes when these names occur in the text, will be embodied all the information in relation to each individual, that could be collected.—S.

[2] Roger Williams was born in Wales, A. D. 1599. After receiving orders in the Church, he embraced the principles of the Non-conformists, embarked for New-England and arrived at Boston in the ship Lyon, February 5, 1631. He was for a short time assistant of the Rev. Mr Skelton, then

even amongst themselves, for dissenting from them in some points about their church government, and that in the ex-

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minister at Salem. On account of some difficulties with the Government of Massachusetts, he removed to Plymouth. He there preached as an assistant of Mr Smith, about two years and eight months, when he took his dismission and returned to Salem. He continued with the church there, as assistant of Mr. Skelton, until the decease of Mr. S. in 1634, after which he was their sole minister until his banishment in November, 1635. The occasion of his banishment was, his insisting that the King's Patent gave the Colonists no right to the lands they occupied, as against the natives—and his contending for a rigid and entire separation from the Church of England; but more than all, his denying the right of civil government to interfere in matters of religion. After his banishment he removed to Seekonk, where he remained till the next spring or summer. Being then informed by Governor Winslow of Plymouth, that he was within Plymouth jurisdiction, he crossed the river with some of his friends who had joined him from Salem, and commenced the settlement of Providence, purchasing land of Conanicus and Miantonomi, chief Sachems of the Narragansetts. During a long life he was much engaged in the public affairs of the colony. Twice he visited England on their account, the first time in 1643, to obtain a charter for the colony, and the second time in 1651, with John Clark, as agents of the colony, to procure the revocation of "Coddington's Obstruction;" both of which objects were accomplished. He died in 1683, leaving six children; Mary, Freeborn, Providence, Mercy, who was married to Richard Waterman son of Richard, Daniel who married Rebecca Power, widow of Nicholas Power and daughter of Zachary Rhodes, and Joseph who married Lydia, daughter of Thomas Olney.

He published "A Key to the Language of America," since reprinted by the Rhode-Island Historical Society, an answer to Mr. Cotton's letter concerning the power of the magistrate in matters of religion; "The Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the cause of Conscience;" "The bloody tenet made more bloody by Master Cotton's endeavor to wash it white;" "The Hireling Ministry none of Christ's;" "Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health and their Preservatives," and "George Fox digged out of his Burroughs," the last being his account of his dispute with the Quakers.

During his life he possessed the confidence of the natives by whom he was surrounded. The other colonies were indebted to him for timely notice of the Indian conspiracy in 1636, which threatened their existence. His wri-

tremity of winter, forcing him to betake himself into the vast wilderness, to sit down amongst the Indians in a place by their own confessions out of all their jurisdictions: and at that time of our arrival at Boston they were proceeding against one Master John Wheelwright,[1] a man of like life and conversation, whom they also banished for differing with them

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tings prove him a man of superior talents and acquirements, and his conduct towards his persecutors breathed the true spirit of christian benevolence. His favorite principle of unlimited freedom of conscience took deep root in the colony he planted, and was its distinguishing characteristic for many years.—S.

[1] The banishment of Williams from Massachusetts, did not secure that uniformity in faith and practice which was deemed by the government of that colony, so essential to the well being of a community. The exertion of the civil power in that case, as in most others of a like nature, increased not only the number of heretical persons, but also the number of heretical opinions. The Synod called in 1637, condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions then extant in that colony.

Among those most deeply infected with heresy, was the Rev. John Wheelwright. He came to New-England in 1636, from Lincolnshire, where he had been admitted to holy orders in the Established Church. He was brother to the famous Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, the leader of the Antinomians of Massachusetts in 1636. At a fast appointed that year on account of the spread of such principles, he preached a sermon at Boston, calculated rather to increase than allay the excitement, in which he indulged in invectives against some of the magistrates and ministers, for their opinions. For this he was adjudged by a court of magistrates to be guilty of sedition, and also of contempt, "for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of differences, &c. and he purposely set himself to kindle and increase them." Sentence of banishment was accordingly passed against him. This was in November 1637. From Boston he removed to Exeter, N. H. and commenced a settlement there. In 1642, he removed from Exeter to Wells, and subsequently to Hampton and Salisbury. His sentence of banishment was reversed in 1644, upon his making an acknowledgment. In 1658 he was in England, in favor with Cromwell. He died Nov. 15th, 1679, at an advanced age, leaving behind him a good report for learning and piety.—S.

in point of doctrine, the sum whereof consisted in this, that sanctification is not the first evidence unto a christian of his salvation; and many others manifesting their thoughts about such points, then controverted amongst them, were also imprisoned, fined, banished, disarmed,[1] and cast out from amongst them.

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[1] The following extract from the Massachusetts Records is copied from Savage's Winthrop, vol. 1, page 248.

"Whereas the opinions and revelations of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson, have seduced and led into dangerous errors, many of the people here in New-England, insomuch that there is just cause of suspicion that they, as others in Germany in former times, may upon some revelation make somé sudden irruption upon those that differ from them in judgment; for prevention whereof it is ordered, that all those whose names are underwritten, shall upon warning given or left at their dwelling houses, before the 30th day of this month of November, deliver in at Mr. Cane's house in Boston, all such guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match as they shall be owner of, or have in their custody, upon pain of ten pounds for every default to be made thereof; which arms are to be kept by Mr. Cane till this court shall take further order therein. Also it is ordered, upon like penalty of ten pounds, that no man who is to render his arms by this order, shall buy or borrow any guns, pistols, powder, shot or match until this court shall take further order therein."

"The names of Boston to be disarmed" are fifty-eight, among them are, William Hutchinson, William Aspinwall, William Dyre, Edward Hutchinson, Henry Bull, John Clark, John Coggeshall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, Thomas Savage, William Freeborn, William Baulston, John Sandford, Richard Carder and John Walker, who removed to Rhode-Island and signed the first articles of association there. Philip Sherman of Roxbury, another of the first settlers of Rhode-Island, was also disarmed. A part of these subsequently returned to Massachusetts. Aspinwall was the first Secretary of the Rhode-Island colony. After his first return to Massachusetts he held the same office there, as will appear in the course of this narrative. Coggeshall and Aspinwall were at the time, deputies from Boston. They were disfranchised, and Coggeshall afterwards banished. The preamble of these orders, recites the only reason then given by the Government of Massachusetts for these remarkable proceedings. Gov. Winthrop vol. 1, page 245 gives another. He says, "The General Court being assembled on the sec-

And we plainly perceiving, that the scope of their doctrine was bent only to maintain that outward form of worship which they had erected to themselves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another; leaving those principles of divinity, wherein we had been instructed in our native country, tending to faith toward God in Christ; and we finding no ground or warrant for such an order in the Church, to bind men's consciences unto as they had established amongst them, our consciences could not close with them in such practices; which they perceiving, denied us the common benefit of the country, even so much as a place to reside in and plant upon, for the maintenance and preservation of ourselves, our wives and little ones, as also, proceeded against us, as they had done to others, yea with more severity, unto confinements, imprisonments, chains, fines, whippings, and banishment out of all their jurisdictinos,[1] to wander in the wilderness in extremity of winter,

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ond of the 9th month," November, and "finding upon consultation that two so opposite parties could not continue in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole, agreed to send away some of the principal, and for this a fair opportunity was offered by the remonstrance or petition which they preferred to the Court the 9th of the first month," March. This petition can be found in the appendix to the first volume of Winthrop. It affords another instance of the facility with which excuses or reasons may be found for acts once resolved on. That a petition from the people to their representatives should be construed into a criminal act, worthy of banishment or disfranchisement, strikes the mind with surprise. It will be recollected too, that this petition was preferred the first month, and no order made against the petitioners till the ninth month following. Had it afforded any just grounds for the apprehensions set forth in the preamble of the orders, it is strange that the authors and signers of it were not proceeded against at once.—S.

[1] It is not probable that this remark was intended to apply, in all its particulars, to every individual of the Shawomet purchasers. Such information as has been collected in relation to each, will be given in subsequent notes.—S.

yea, when the snow was up to the knee, and rivers to wade through up to the middle, and not so much as one of the Indians to be found in that extremity of weather, to afford us either fire or any harbor, such as themselves had, being removed into swamps and thickets where they were not to be found; in which condition, in the continuation of the weather, we lay divers nights together, having no victuals but what we took on our backs, and our drink as the snow afforded unto us, whereupon we were constrained with the hazard of our lives to betake ourselves into that part of the country called the Narragansett Bay, buying several parcels of land of the Indians there inhabiting, and sat down in and near the place where Master Roger Williams was, where we built houses, and bestowed our labors to raise up means to maintain our wives and little ones, (which our countrymen out of their zeal had deprived us of and taken away from us) quietly possessing them for the space of seven or eight years, (some of us) no man interrupting us, but both the Massachusetts and also Plymouth confessed us to be out of the confines of their patents.[1] But when they

[1] Upon Williams' removal across the Seekonk, he purchased of the chief Sachems of the Narragansetts, "the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket," and "all the land from those rivers to Pawtuxet river; as also the grass and meadows upon the said Pawtuxet river." The deed of the Sachems bears date "the 24th of the first month commonly called March, the second year of the plantation or planting at Moshassuck or Providence," and recites that the sale was made two years before. This deed was confirmed the 9th of the 3d month (May) 1639. by Miantonomi. Soon after the execution of this deed by the Sachems, Williams conveyed to each of his twelve companions in exile, among whom were John Greene, Francis Weston and Richard Waterman, afterwards some of the purchasers of Shawomet, equal right with himself, in the lands between and upon the rivers Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket. The consideration named in the deed is thirty pounds, which is acknowledged in the deed to have been received by him. On the 8th of October 1638, it was agreed by and between the thirteen owners of Providence, that the

perceived these parts to be a refuge for such as were oppressed and grieved amongst themselves, who repaired unto

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meadows at Pawtuxet should be "impropriated" between them in equal shares, in consideration of which they agree to pay Williams twenty pounds; twelve thirteenths of which, Williams acknowledged by a receipt on the back of the deed, to have received of his companions, in full for their proportions. This division of the original purchase occasioned great troubles. It is probable a settlement was made on these meadows even before the date of this agreement.

The deed made by Williams was very imperfect. It contained only the initials of the grantees' names, and other abbreviations equally objectionable; he was therefore frequently requested to give them another deed. On the 20th of December 1661, he made another deed, which contains in its recitals much historical information. It states that the after-comers paid thirty shillings a-piece into a common stock from which Williams received thirty pounds, as a "loving gratuity" for his great charge and travel in procuring the grant from the Sachems. For some reasons not necessary now to be inquired into, this deed though full in its terms, duly executed by Williams and his wife, and containing covenants of warranty against himself and all persons claiming under him, did not give full satisfaction to his companions. Accordingly on the 22d December, 1666, he executed another copy of his first deed to the purchasers, in which all their names are written at length, and which contains no abbreviations. The date is the 8th of October, 1638, the day on which the "impropriation" of the Pawtuxet meadows was made. Appended is a certificate signed by Williams, that the instrument is a true copy "of a writing given by me about twenty eight years since, and differs not a tittle only, so is dated as near as we could guess about the time," &c.

The company at Providence was rapidly increased by exiles and emigrants from the neighboring colonies, who were admitted "to the same fellowship of vote" with the original purchasers and to equal right in the purchase upon certain terms. But to none of these was any right given in the Pawtuxet lands. Other purchases were soon made of the Indians by different individuals. Williams purchased a tract of land of Saconoococo, confirmed by Conanicus and Miantonomi. This he afterwards sold to Robert Coles. Benedict Arnold purchased of Miantonomi in 1641. The same Sachem in 1642 conveyed another tract to John Greene. Probably the purchases by Coles and Greene, are the ones alluded to in Governor Win-

us for shelter, then they went about to bring those parts to be under their jurisdictions, by all possible pretences, and stretching their line for that purpose, thinking to get some color for their proceedings, yet fell they short of our plantation, fourteen or fifteen miles, as did evidently appear, and was by themselves acknowledged, and when they saw they could not accomplish their ends by that project, they then insinuated themselves into the minds of three ill-affected persons [1] amongst us, that they should acknowledge them-

throp's warrant of Oct. 28, 1642. It is difficult, if not impossible to ascertain the precise location or extent of these grants; all of them were however to the Southward and Westward of Williams's first purchase. It is not probable that Massachusetts would have suffered Williams to make a settlement at Providence, if it had not been beyond their jurisdiction. It will be recollected that he was banished out of all their jurisdictions. We are assured also by Williams in a letter to Major Mason, that Gov. Winthrop "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay and Indians, for many high and heavenly ends, encouraging me, from the freeness of the place from any English claims or patents." In the same letter he also says, that Gov. Winslow of Plymouth advised him after he had begun to build and plant at Seekonk to remove "but to the other side of the water, and then, he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves."

With these assurances from the Governors of Massachusetts and Plymouth, given before the settlement of Providence, the first settlers of Pawtuxet, still more Southerly and Westerly than Providence, might reasonably suppose themselves out of the jurisdiction of both of those colonies.—S.

[1] Winthrop says four, and the record is, "William Arnold and Robert Coles, William Carpenter and Benedict Arnold, his company, upon their petition, are taken under our government and protection. William Arnold is to keep the peace in their land." Sav. Wint. vol. 2, page 85, in note. This was in September, 1642. Winthrop adds, "they were accepted under our government and protection, partly to rescue these men from violence, and partly to draw in the rest in those parts under ourselves or Plymouth, who now lived under no government, but grew very offensive, and the place was likely to be of use to us, especially, if we should have occasion of sending out against any Indians of Narragansett, and likewise an

selves to be subjects unto them, and to depend upon them for protection and government, whom they had formerly cast out from amongst them, both out of their churches, and censured them also in their civil courts for gross and scandalous offences, as one Robert Cole,[1] whom they had censured to wear a D on his back for a whole year, to proclaim unto all men his guiltiness of the sin of drunkenness, and had also cast him out of their Church, and delivered him unto Satan several times, who before, and in the time of this

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outlet into the Narragansett Bay; and seeing it came without our seeking, and would be no charge to us, we thought it not wisdom to let it slip."

It will not probably be difficult at this time to decide which of these reasons had the greatest weight with the court. The assertion here made that "they lived under no government" was entirely without foundation. See next Note.—S.

[1] Robert Cole or Coles, came to this country probably, with the first settlers of Massachusetts. His name is among those who desired to be made freemen, in October, 1630, and he was admitted a freeman on the 18th of May following. Two men were chosen from each town in 1632, to advise with the Governor and assistants about the raising of a public stock. Coles was one of the two chosen for Roxbury. The next year he went with Gov. Winthrop's son and others, to begin a plantation at Ipswich. In February following he "was ordered to wear a red D about his neck," having been often punished for drunkenness. He was one of the first settlers of Providence. His name is the fourth in the first deed made by Williams to the settlers. In 1640 Robert Coles, Chad Brown and Wm. Harris, as a committee of the Providence Colony, reported a form of government, which was adopted, and which continued in force until the arrival of the first charter. The report may be found in Hazard's Historical Collections. Subsequently he removed to Shawomet, but at what time does not appear. His name is on the list of inhabitants received there, and is the thirty-second and next to the last on the list. He died before November, 1655, as appears from a deed of that date, made by John Coles to Mary Coles, widow of Robert Coles, of his interest in his father's estate. Besides this son, Robert Coles had two daughters, one of whom married Henry Townsend and the other Richard Townsend, both inhabitants of Shawomet. Henry Townsend removed to Oyster Bay, Long-Island, before 1665.—S.

his submission usually conversed with, and was conversant amongst the Indians on the Sabbath days, professing the Indians' religion to be the same with that which the Massachusetts professed and practised.* There was also one William Arnold, and his son Benedict [1] who subjected themselves unto the Massachusetts, which Arnold was a great professor of religion in the West of Old England; but in the time of this his subjection, was known constantly to employ himself in servile work upon the Sabbath day and pro-

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*This speech of Robert Cole was uttered before many who can witness it.

[1] William Arnold was born in 1589. When he came to this country cannot be ascertained; the first notice of him is in 1635, when he belonged to Hingham. He went to Providence, with Williams. His name is the second in Williams's first deed. He had four children, Benedict and Thomas, born before his removal to Providence, Stephen, and a daughter who married Zachary Rhodes. Stephen lived and died at Pawtuxet on the old homestead farm. Thomas settled in that part of Providence, since called Smithfield.

Benedict Arnold was born in England, Dec. 21, 1615. He probably came to this country and removed to Providence, with his father. He is not named in Williams's first deed, but was received a purchaser very soon after the date of it. He married Damaris, daughter of Stukely Westcott, by whom he had Godsgift, Josias, Benedict, Freelove, Oliver, Caleb, Damaris and Priscilla. He removed to Newport 1653, and was admitted a purchaser there on 17th May in the same year. He died in 1678,

Both William and Benedict Arnold were employed by the United Colonies in their negotiations with the Narragansetts. This act of submission to Massachusets, while it rendered them popular with that Government, gave great offence not only to Gorton and his company, but to their fellow colonists at Providence. The prejudices against them arising from this circumstance, were removed by their withdrawing themselves from the government of Massachusetts, and they both were elected to public offices in the colony. Benedict was one of the patentees named in the charter of Charles the Second to the colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in 1663, and was appointed first Governor under it. He afterwards held the same office by the choice of the freemen, for twelve years.—S.

fessed it to be his excellency above that which his neighbor had attained unto; his son Benedict constantly trading with the Indians on the Sabbath day, being a factor for them of the Massachusetts, being supplied with commodity from them, having toleration to sell powder to the Indians, but denied to be sold unto us, unless we would subject ourselves, as they had done; these pretended subjects of the Massachusetts, thus far-fetched, had learned this devise, that whereas some of us had small parcels of land laid out to build houses upon and plant corn, and all the rest lay common and undivided, as the custom of the country for the most part is, they would not permit us any more land to build upon or to feed our cattle, unless we would keep upon that which they confess to be our proper right, and they would admit of no division but by the foot or by the inch, and then we could neither have room to set a house, but part of it would stand on their land, nor put a cow to grass, but immediately her bounds were broken; and then presently must the one be pulled down, and the other put into the pound to make satisfaction, or till satisfaction were made for both. So, that by this unreasonable and palpable slight of these pretended subjects, together with the power of this so irregular a government, we plainly perceived a snare was laid to entangle us again; not only to hinder us to provide for our families, but to bereave us again of what, God, through our labor and industry, had raised up unto us as means to maintain our families with.

Now when the Massachusetts had gained these men to be instruments in this manner to effect their end, then did they institute them as officers to execute their warrants amongst us in those parts, upon any complaint these above named subjects should make unto them upon the grounds above mentioned; who presently sent a warrant unto us, to command our appearance at their courts, under the hand of the Governor and divers of the assistants in the Massachusetts,

threatening to use violence against us, in case we obeyed not.

A true copy of the first warrant that was sent unto us from the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, into the Narragansett Bay, before we planted upon that tract of land called Shaw-omet, situate upon the same Bay; the warrant is here set down verbatim, and is still extant.

MASSACHUSETTS TO OUR NEIGHBORS OF PROVIDENCE:

Whereas, William Arnold of Pawtuxet,* and Robert Cole and others, have lately put themselves and their families, lands and estates, under the protection and government of this jurisdiction, and have since complained to us, that you have since (upon pretence of a late purchase from the Indians) gone about to deprive them of their lawful interest confirmed by four years possession and otherwise, to molest them; we thought good therefore, to write to you on their behalf, to give you notice, that they and their lands, &c. being under our jurisdiction, we are to maintain them in their lawful rights. If, therefore, you have any just title to any thing they possess, you may proceed against them in our court, where you shall have equal justice; but, if you shall proceed to any violence, you must not blame us, if we shall take a like course to right them.

JO. WINTHROP, Governor.[1]
THO. DUDLEY,
RI. BELLINGHAM,
INCR. NOWELL.

The 28th of the 8th mo. 1642.

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*Pawtuxet is a place near Providence, where one or two of these their subjects had built houses, and at their pleasure, were both in Providence and also in Pawtuxet, having houses and land in both.

[1] John Winthrop was the father of the Massachusetts Colony. He arrived in New-England, 1630. He held the office of Assistant four years, deputy Governor three years, and Governer twelve years. He died March 26,

This warrant being delivered unto us by their new made officer, William Arnold, in the name of the Massachusetts, we took into serious consideration, having former experience abundantly of their unkind and inhumane dealing with us, yea, towards our wives and children, when ourselves were sometimes in banishments and sometimes in prison and irons (by them) before. We thought it meet, for the preservation of our peace, together with that compassion we had of our wives and little ones, to leave our houses and the rest of our labors lying near unto those their pretended subjects, whom we saw maliciously bent, and to remove ourselves and families further off from the Massachusetts, and such their coadjutors, being then amongst us. For we saw that they did not only endeavor to take away our livelihood, but intended to take away our lives also, in case they could find a way to satisfy the country in doing of such an act and execution; for we had never accusation brought in against us, but what rose from the magistrates and the ministers; for we walked so as to do no man wrong, only justified the cause of our religion, as we had learned and received the principles thereof before we went amongst them; as also, the laws and government of this kingdom of England unto which we ever willingly acknowledged ourselves

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1649, aged 61 years. His History of New-England is by far the most interesting and valuable history of his times.

Thomas Dudley was the first Deputy Governor of the Colony, and for many years Governor; and when he held neither of these offices, he was one of the Assistants. At the date of this warrant, he was one of the Assistants. He died July 31, 1653, aged 76 years.

Richard Bellingham sustained the offices of Deputy, Assistant, Major General, Deputy Governor and Governor of the Colony, at various times, and with great ability. He died Dec. 7, 1673, having survived all the other patentees named in the Massachusetts patent. He was an Assistant in 1642.

Increase Nowell held the office of Assistant from 1630 to 1655, and was Secretary of the Colony from 1641 to 1649. He died Nov. 11, 1655.—S.

to be loyal subjects; and therefore, could not suffer ourselves to be intrenched upon by our fellow subjects, further than the laws of our king and state do allow.

Now, that they sought the lives of some of us, at this time, is evident; for John Warner,[1] citizen and freeman of London,

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[1] John Warner was one of the first purchasers of Shawomet. When he came to this country or where he landed, I have not been able to ascertain. The first records of Warwick appear to be in his hand-writing. He was Town Clerk, member of Town Council, Deputy and Assistant for the town of Warwick, between the years 1647 and 1652. He was also Clerk or Secretary of the General Court of the colony of Providence Plantations in 1648. I find the following curious records respecting him in Warwick.

"The 24th of April 1652, at a town meeting or law-making assembly, ordered, that John Warner for his misdemeanors under annexed, is degraded by the unanimous consent of the town, from bearing any office in the town, and that he is wholly disenabled forever hereafter bearing any office in the town, until he give the town satisfaction.

"It is further ordered, that the abovesaid John Warner is put out from having any vote in the town concerning its affairs."

The charges against John Warner are these:

"First. For calling the officers of the town, rogues and thieves with respect to their office.

Item. For calling the whole town rogues and thieves.

Item. For threatening the lives of men.

Item. For threatening to kill all the mares of the town.

Item. For his contempt, in not appearing before the town now met, being lawfully summoned by a summons from the officer, with two magistrates' hands to it.

Item. For threatening an officer of the colony in open court, that if he had him elsewhere, he would beat out his brains, as also calling him rogue.

Item. For his employing an agent in his behalf, to write to the Massachusetts; thereby going about to enthral the liberties of the town, and to the great indignity of the honored State of England, who granted the said privileges unto us."

This last charge is substantiated by a letter from Wm. Arnold to Massachusetts dated 26th 2d month (April) 1652, in which he states he had written them a previous letter at the suggestion of Warner. It also appears from the Massachusetts records, that he had about this time, preferred a petition to

a man well known, who afterwards was one of those against whom they now prosecuted, having formerly had some busi-

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them, to take off his banishment; for the General Court on 31st of May, 1652 declare, "in answer to the petition of John Warner, the Court judge not meet to take off his banishment, but grant him liberty to transport himself and family to England from any of our ports, when occasion shall be presented."

Soon after this proceeding of the town of Warwick, the town of Providence interfered in the matter; for at a town meeting on the 7th June, a letter is directed to be sent to Providence in answer "to the motions" of that town in relation to Warner. And also that a copy of "the declaration that hath been drawn up in the town, concerning John Warner, and the Dutchmen which hath been sent to the Bay and also to Providence," be sent to Mr Roger Williams. Gorton is also directed at the same meeting, to write a letter to Williams in the town's behalf, "to give him information concerning the town and colony's proceeding with John Warner and his wife." This communication, sent "to the Bay and also to Providence," cannot be found.

At another town meeting in Warwick, on the 22d of June, it was ordered, that the house and lot of John Warner be attached "on suspicion of insufferable treachery against the town," and he cited to appear at the next Court of Trials.

On the 5th of July following, it is voted, to resign up to the said John Warner his house and lot, which it is here stated had been attached "for breach of the law of the colony." I regret that I have not been able to ascertain what law is alluded to, or how Warner had broken it. There was a protest against this last order, signed by Randall Holden, John Wickes, John Greene, Samuel Gorton and Robert Potter.

On the 17th of the same month, Warner conveyed all his lands and property to the town of Providence, Robert Williams, Thomas Olney and Thomas Harris of Providence, and Walter Todd and Henry Townsend of Warwick, in trust for the use and support of his infant daughter. An intended voyage to England is recited in the deed, as the reason for this conveyance. In 1655, the town of Providence committed the care and custody of this child to Ezekiel Holliman, her grandfather. Warner had been received a purchaser in Providence. He left a son John, who married Anna, daughter of Samuel Gorton, and other children whose descendants are now numerous, but I can neither ascertain their names, nor any further particulars in relation to Warner himself.—S.

ness with Master Winthrop, the Governor of the Massachusetts, he asked the said Warner (living then in the Narragansett Bay) whether he knew one Samuel Gorton, (a man also, against whom they now prosecuted) who lived also in the said Bay, but at that time John Warner had not seen him, living a matter of twenty miles one from the other. The Governor told him he was a man not fit to live upon the face of the earth; also one of the elders of the church of Boston, told a minister,* who reported it in the place where Gorton lived, that if they had Gorton at Boston, in the Massachusetts, he would hardly see his own house any more; yea, one Master Collins,[1] a

*Old Mr Oliver.—[Thomas Oliver was an elder of the Church at Boston. He came to this country in 1631, and died in 1657.—S.]

[1] Collins came to this country from St. Christopher's or Barbadoes, in the summer of 1640. He was persecuted there for his non-conformity. He landed first at New-Haven; afterwards taught a school at Hartford, and subsequently removed to Newport, where he became acquainted with Mrs. Ann Hutchinson, and married her daughter. In 1641 he went to Boston with his brother-in-law Francis Hutchinson. Soon after their arrival there, they were brought before the Governor and Council, to answer for a letter that Collins had previously written to some persons in Massachusetts, in which it was said, "there were many reproachful speeches." He acknowledged the letter, and defended the expressions contained in it as explained by him. Hutchinson agreed with him in some of his positions, and reviled the Church of Boston, of which he was a member. For these acts, they were both committed to prison; and at the next court, Collins was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50, and sentenced to remain in prison till they gave security for the payment. Winthrop observes, "we assessed the fines higher, partly, that by occasion thereof, they might be the longer kept from doing harm, for they were kept close prisoners; and also, because that family had put the country to so much charge in the Synod and other occasions, to the value of £500 at least." Their fines were afterwards reduced to £40 and £20, and their own bonds taken for security. When they were dismissed, they were forbidden to return to Massachusetts, on pain of death.

The last, and which was, perhaps, the strongest reason assigned by Governor Winthrop for assessing their fines higher, does more honor to the Court as efficient financiers than as impartial judges. If Gorton, in the text,

man of excellent parts of learning, and of an unblameable life amongst men, being minister of one of the Western Islands, from that report he heard of religion, came to New England, who married one of Mistress Hutchinson's daughters, and being Francis Hutchinson his brother-in-law, was a member of the Church at Boston, who seriously considering and laying to heart, the ways of their Church and the carriage of his brethren, consulting with the minister, the two young men could not have rest in their spirits till they went down to advise or debate the matter with the Church, though they were come out from them and lived on Rhode Island in the Narragansett Bay, and when they came to Boston, and the brethren were gathered together, either to give or receive satisfaction; when they saw the arguments produced by the minister and his brother to weight somewhat heavy, then the strongest of their church members of Boston, namely, the Governor and Assistants, cast them in prison, to regulate their opinions that differed from them, and there kept them in durance for many months; but at the last, setting them at liberty, yet giving out some threatening words afterwards, as though they would fetch them again, the young men could have no rest in their spirits day nor night, till they were gone out further from the Massachusetts than that island was, yea, under some foreign government where

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assigns the true object of their journey to Boston, our respect for the candor and Christian charity of their brethren who condemned them, will not be increased.

In 2. Mass. Hist. Col. 10, 184, is a letter from the Church at Boston, to "their beloved brother in the Lord Jesus," Francis Hutchinson, at "Aquethneck." From this it appears he had asked a dismission from that Church. There is no date to the letter, but that it was before he made this visit to Boston, is altogether probable, as is also the cause of that visit assigned by Gorton.

Hubbard says, page 341, that "Collins had been a hopeful professor and preacher also privately, at Gloucester in England."—S.

the Massachusetts could not pretend to have any thing to do; for they had heard that the Massachusetts intended to take in all the Narragansett Bay under their government and jurisdiction. Whereupon Master Collins came where the aforesaid Gorton and his family were, namely, at Providence, and seriously advised him to go along to the Dutch plantations, or else to the Sweed, for upon his knowledge, the Massachusetts intended, in short time, to take away his life, if he abode in any of the English plantations, for he had received certain information thereof, whilst he was amongst them, shewing great affection to move him thereunto. Gorton thanked him kindly for his love, being but a stranger to him; but told him he could not go under a foreign prince for protection, till he saw further than yet he did, knowing he had neither been false to his king nor country, nor to his conscience in point of religion, so far as God had informed him. But Master Collins and his brother, together with their mother and whole family, for fear, removed to the Dutch plantation, with divers other friends and families, who were miserably massacred by those barbarous Indians, (both men, women and children) being then at war with the Dutch, who took some of the English children, out of families of good note, as captives; and keep and train them up amongst themselves unto this day, having most barbarously and cruelly slain their parents, who had been not a little careful to train them up in their life time, both in faith and manners. But we removing ourselves as abovesaid, into another part of the Narragansett Bay, further from the Massachusetts, and where none of the English nor other nations had any thing to do, but only Indians, the true natives, of whom we bought a parcel of land,[1] called

[1] A copy of this deed is given in Appendix No. 13. Shawomet was that part of Warwick township, now called Old Warwick. It is about ten miles South of Providence, on the West side of Narragansett Bay, and more than twenty-five South of the South line of Massachusetts. From what is

Shawomet, (as is abovesaid) not only of Miantonomi, chief Sachem or Prince of those parts of the country, but also with the free consent of the inhabitants of the place.

Now we plainly perceiving that the drift of the Massachusetts, and those joined with them, was not only to take the whole country of the English plantations into their jurisdiction, but also to establish what way of religion themselves thought fit; to the taking away, not only of goods, but lives also, of such as were otherwise minded; we made answer unto the writing they had sent unto us, on this wise; which answer was made upon our removal from Mooshawset, otherwise called Providence, to Shawomet:

A true copy of our answer to the warrant or writing, which the men of Massachusetts sent unto us, as is above noted; wherein we only take up their own expressions, to show unto them the spirit and power of their religion which they go about by these means to preserve, enlarge, and shew the glory of, to the world. The answer is verbatim, examined by the original copy, only marginal notes added, to help the reader to understand our true meaning.

Mooshawset, November the 20, 1642.

To our Neighbors of the Massachusetts.

Whereas we lately received an irregular* note, professing its form from the Massachusetts, with four men's names subscribed thereunto (as principal authors of it) of the chief

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stated afterwards, I am induced to believe that the name of Nicholas Power was in the original deed, as a purchaser, although it is omitted in the record of it. Power styles himself one of the purchasers, in the second letter to Massachusetts, in the text; and Gorton enlarges upon the wonderful coincidence between the number of the purchasers and the price paid for Shawomet, the purchasers being twelve in number, and each paying twelve fathom of wampum peage.—S.

* Irregular, because it went beyond their bounds and jurisdictions limited unto them.

amongst you, we could not easily give credit unto the truth thereof; not only, because the conveyers of it unto us are known to be men, whose constant and professed acts are worse than the counterfeitings of mens' hands; but also, because we thought that men of your parts and profession would never have prostrated their wisdom to such an act. But, considering that causeless enmity you have against us, the proof whereof every occasion brings forth, we cannot but conclude that no act so ill, which that ancient mother will not bring forth her seed unto.* For we know very well that it is the name of Christ, called upon us which you strive against, whence it is that you stand on tiptoe to stretch yourselves beyond your bounds, to seek occasion against us, so as you might hide your sin with Adam;† bearing the world in hand, it is not your desire to contend with us, but some civil breach in our course, which you seek to redress; whereas, neither you nor any, in way of truth, can find wherewith to bring us under a censure of a disorderly course of walking amongst them. And as for the way of that ancient spirit of accusation of the brethren; we weigh it not, knowing him to be a liar, (or in the abstract, a lie) from the beginning, yea, and the father of it also, which thing you cannot know, though it were told unto you, whereas, you say, Robert Cole, William Arnold, with others, have put themselves under the government and protection of your jurisdiction, which is the occasion you have now got to contend, we wish your words were verified, that they were not elsewhere to be found,‡

* That is, the wisdom of the flesh, conversant about the things of God, brings forth unto cruelty, all them in whom it is found so exercised.

† By dissembling the cause of their proceedings against us, to be another thing, than indeed it was, even as Adam laid the fault upon the woman; whereas indeed she came out of his own side, and was confessed to be flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone.

‡ But only among themselves within the bounds of their own jurisdictions, as they affirm them to be; though without any ground or rule of true government.

being nothing but the shame of religion, disquiet, and disturbance of the places where they are; for we know, neither the one nor the other, with all their associates and confederates, have power to enlarge the bounds, by King Charles limited unto you.[1] Behold, therefore, in this your act, a map of your spiritual estate, to use your own phrase; for we know, that the spirituality of your Churches, is the civility of your Commonwealth, and the civility of your Commonwealth is the spirituality of your Churches; the wisdom of man being the whole accomplesense of them both, of which tree you delight daily to eat,* finding it fair and beautiful, to gain conformity with your Maker, in these your dissembling subjects, grossly profane amongst us, but full of the spirit of your purity.† When they are with you, you may remember the brand yourselves have set on some of them, the cause whereof was never yet removed,‡ though it abide not on their backs,§ nor yet, the cause of your commitment of them unto Satan (according to your law;) for if that were removed, you should do them wrong in not resuming your vomit into its former concoction again.‖ Nor are

* The tree of the knowledge of good and evil paralelled, with the wisdom of man, exercising itself in the things of God.

† That is, the spirit of painted hypocrisy.

‡ The sin being still continued in.

§ That is, the mark which was worn to proclaim it to all.

‖ That is, in not receiving them into the operations of that boiling church fellowship again, wherein they still walked.

[1] The first settlers of Massachusetts always acted upon the presumption, that the submission of any person or plantation to their government, gave them jurisdiction over the place where the person resided, or plantation was erected. Thus the submission of the two Arnolds, Cole, and Carpenter, gave them as full jurisdiction over the lands where they dwelt, as over those embraced in their charter. How it was possible for such men as composed the Massachusetts Colony, to entertain such an opinion, is exceedingly strange. Their political existence and all their powers of government, were derived from a charter which exactly defined the territorial extent of their jurisdiction.—S.

we ignorant of those disgraceful terms they use, and give out against you behind your backs. Their submission, therefore, cannot be to any other end, but to satisfy their own lusts, not only conceived, but in violent motion against their neighbors, who never offered the least wrong unto them; only the proposition of amity, is object sufficient for these mens' enmity. Even so, the passions of sin which are by the law, having force in your members, you going about with great labor and industry to satisfy them by your submission unto the word of God, in your fasting and feasting, in contributing and treasuring, in retiredness for study, and bowing of the backs of the poor, going forth in labor to maintain it, and in the spirit of that hireling, raising up your whole structure and edifice; in all which, you bring forth nothing but fruit unto death. Some laboring for a price to give for the keeping of their souls in peace and safe estate and condition;* some to have your bodies furnished with riches, honor and ease,† and further than the Lord Jesus agrees with these, you mind him not; nay, you renounce and reject him, and with these (according to your acceptation and practice) he holds no correspondency at all, being the consultation and operation of that his only adversary.‡ Man being that which you depend upon, and not the Lord, crying out in the way of elevation, and lauding his ministers, when, in the mean time, you know not what, nor who they are, professing them under a mediate call of Christ, though formerly they have been called immediately by him, hereby shewing yourselves to be those which destroy the sacred ordinance of God; for if

* That is, carefully labor to pay wages to the minister for that end, either in way of contribution, or else.

† That is, the ministers and magistrates study, teach and execute, to attain such ends.

‡ That is, the wisdom of the flesh exercised in the things of God.

you make Christ to be that to-day in stating of his ministers, which he was not yesterday, and that in the time of the gospel also, to speak according to your law, to be found in them both, you therein affirm he hath been that to his ministers, which now he is not; and to make the Son of God to have been that which now he is not, to make a nullity of him, not to be at all; for he is the Lord that changeth not, no; not a shadow thereof is found in him. So that you plainly crucify to yourselves the Lord of Glory, and put him to an open shame; so that as you know not how Christ conversing with his Father in Heaven is found on the earth amongst the true worshippers, no more do you know how in his conversing with Nicodemus on the earth, he concludes himself to be in Heaven with his father. On this foundation, hangeth the whole building of your doctrine concerning the sufferings of Christ. You annihilate the Cross, than the which the saints have no other consolation; and prepare no better a place than purgatory for the honorable fathers of our Lord; for, ye conclude, that Christ died in the decree and purpose of God in the time of the law, but actually only when he hanged on the cross in the days of Herod and Pontius Pilate, that he was crucified in the types and shadows of the law; but in the truth and substance, when he appeared born of the Virgin Mary. So must ye also conclude that the fathers under the law, were only saved in purpose and decree, in types and shadows, but, actually and substantially only at the coming of Christ in the flesh. Therefore, deal plainly with those that depend upon you for instruction, as your ancestors in the Papacy have done, and proclaim a place of purgatory provided for them in the mean, without which your doctrine hath no foundation; for if you raise up a shadow without a substance, and the substance of him that dwelleth in light without a shadow, you play the part of wizards or necromancers, not the part of true naturalists in the things of the kingdom of God,

so that as far as your men are,* from being honorable and loyal subjects, so far are you from being voluntaries in the day of God's power, and from yielding subjection to the beauties of holiness. Such also is your preferment, rule and government, in the things that concern the kingdom of our God, they are infinitely beyond and out of the reach of that spirit that is gone out amongst you, the capacity whereof can, no wise, comprehend the breadth of the land of Emanuel, nor entereth it within the vail? Therefore it cannot know those cherubim of glory, neither can it hear the voice of that lively oracle, speaking only from off the covering mercy seat, and not elsewhere to be heard. We speak not, but what we know, these things are not of its jurisdiction; therefore, dumb in telling justice, neither speaks it any of that righteousness and glory comprised in another circuit than you were yet made lords of. Therefore, long may you boast of your jurisdiction before you attain to juris prudentia in these things. In that you tell us we offer wrong by a pretended purchase, you are as much mistaken in the purchase as in the wrong, for it is right that we are about to do; neither is our purchase a pretence, but precedential, not only in this civil respect, but may also, admonish all men to take heed how they depend upon false and self-seeking interpreters, when both themselves and they that have the vision, are ignorant of the contract and covenant of God.† Thence it is, that you teach, that the spouse of Christ, upon contract with her Lord, may conceive the seed of immortality and bring forth fruit unto the Lord, when as yet the day of marriage, that great

* That is, their subjects so far fetched who lived amongst us.

† Arnold's son Benedict, being interpreter between the Indians about us, and the Massachusetts, seeking to get some advantage against us by the Indians, to blind the country, as though they had a just quarrel; we seeing and knowing the falsity thereof, do apply the thing to their spiritual course they walk in.

festivity and solemnization of the consolations of God, is not yet come; witness your prorogation thereof, if not to the descention of Christ from heaven to the earth, to reign certain years: yet to the calling of the Jews, whom ye yourselves are according to the flesh, and to the destruction of that man of sin, whom you so stoutly maintain. What is this but to proclaim to all the world that audacious spirit of whoredom, professing conception and bringing forth before the nuptial day, in that you conclude your clients' right to arise out of four years' possession. We have no such order, if you mean the right of conquest only held in that tenure; the true owners were never yet subdued; for that is the right they expect to enjoy by you. For some of them committed part of their supposed right unto us, professing it was, that, they might have help to enjoy the rest;* but when they saw that we would not be abettors unto them without, much less, contrary unto covenant, then they fly unto you for help,† their possession being a mere intrusion, as all the natives know, and ever exclaimed against them for the same; and so may our countrymen also, whose eyes are not dazzled with envy, and ears open unto lies, as we know yours are; else, you had heard both sides speak, before you had judged. But we profess right, held in no such interest, but according to the ground of covenant, only known in its nature in the parties twixt whom it is plight, in the possessor and the possessed, with the nature of all fruit arising from their accord and concurrency, together with their distinct, harmonical, reciprocal and joint properties and operations of them both. Such is the tenure that we hold, and maintain it before men and angels, and oppose it against men and devils; not in taking up unto ourselves

* As Robert Cole did, their subject now, since that time so made.

† The Indians denying at that time, a perfect and full purchase of that place, where these their subjects had built houses, called Pawtuxet.

certain offices and officers, which we can teach children to be and to perform, and from thence presently to conclude the possession of the kingdom, crying out, our peace offerings are upon us, this day we have paid our vows.* But that dark cloud that descended on the Tabernacle, becomes the light and glory of all Israel, there being nothing acknowledged amongst them, but what ariseth out thence; then, and then only, are the orders, as, also the men of Israel, derived from their true fountain, which no tongue can confess, but is salvation, and then, not else, is the heritage of our Lord in possession; yea, even the wayless wilderness knows how to afford them a habitation, which had its being before the hills and mountains were born, which men begin to fly unto, for refuge to hide themselves from the presence of the Lamb.† This is a possession which no man can intrude himself into. It is only covenanted with him through an enlightened eye and bored ear, which man performeth not; neither can it be received from him; for we know that cloud of thick darkness, that hides and covers the whole frame and fabric of the work of God,‡ to be the clearing and evidencing of every point and particular thereof. Yea, to us it is even that cloud of witness, which testifies to us the like work to appear, whenever the world hath occasion to make use of us. Never doth it shine but in the night; never is it dark to Israel, but in the day; but in the one and the other, the only glory and safety of all the tribes; but how, you know not, neither can you, with all your libraries, give

* Alluding to the harlot spoken of in the Proverbs, whose practice is such in spiritual things, as well as there is a literal sense of it. Prov. vii. 13 to 23.

† Rev. vi. 16. For there was nothing done to these men that seemed to shelter themselves under the Massachusetts, but only opening the word of God amongst them, which is the revelation of the face or presence of the Lamb of God, Jesus Christ.

‡ Alluding to the Tabernacle, which it covered, and so applied spiritually in the way of Christ.

the interpretation thereof, but have lost it in the wilderness, and accordingly have made the whole way and will of our Lord, the oldness of the letter, both to yourselves and all that have an ear to listen unto you. Thence it is that the day of the Lord is a day of darkness and gloominess unto you, but of joy and gladness unto us; yea, it lifts up our head only,* and then is our salvation near; for we know the worthies of David doubled about the bed of Solomon, which expels all the fear in the night, handling the sword with success, making the adversaries nothing but meat to feed upon,† so that the time of your fear, is the time of our courage and conquest; for when ye fear error, schism, rents and confusions in Church and State, then do we know the messenger of the covenant, the Lord whom we seek, is speeding his passage into his holy temple; for who (under the terrors of your spirit) may abide his coming, he being like a refiner's fire and fuller's soap.

In that you invite us into your Courts, to fetch your equal balanced justice upon this ground, that you are become one with our adversaries, and that, both in what they have and what they are; and we know them to be such as profess the day of the Lord an unhallowed thing. Now if we have our opponent to prefer his action against us, and not so only, but to be our counsel, our jury and our judge, (for so it must be, if you are one with them, as you affirm,) we know, before hand, how our cause will be ended, and see the scale of your equal justice turned already, before we have laid our cause therein; and cannot but admire to see you carried so contrary to your own received principles; for ye know not how to find Christ as a ruling and teaching elder, both in one person; therefore he is not complete among you, by (your own law,) except in several persons; and you may thank

* Meaning Christ and not ourselves, to set up the flesh. Luke xxi. 28.

† That is, all kinds of incumbrances, they meet with in this life. Isa. xli. 2.

tradition, else, you know no more how to find a king and a priest in Him; and yet, in your way of making tender of your justice unto us, you know how to become one with our adversaries, so as if we deal with them, we deal with you; and if we have to do with you, we have to do with them also; yea, further, we know that the chief amongst you have professed we are not worthy to live, and if some of us were amongst you, we should hardly see the place of our abode any more.

Now, they that have brooded upon their law, to take away life, they must much more bring it forth in taking away all means of life; witness your prohibition, that no powder should be sold unto us for our money, and that in a time when you could not think yourselves safe in all your own self-provision and worldly furniture, except you disarmed a company of poor Indians, whom Aaron, your Levitical sacrificer hath made naked;* as he doth all those which triumph in a calf, though the most costly and beautiful that the jewels and ear-rings of learning, either in language or art, can possibly bring forth. Your own amazements upon mere rumors, may testify the truth thereof. So then, we are judged by your law, before our cause be heard, or ourselves brought forth under the liberties of it, which thing is well pleasing to us, to have our condition conformed to Moses, the man of God, who was dead, in Pharoah's account, before he was brought forth.† And so it was with Christ our Lord, in the days of Herod also, who is our life; at which you strike, and make all things, yea, death itself, lively and advanta-

*By alluding to that bodily nakedness of the Indians, whom they disarmed, shewing that spiritual nakedness which the works of the law or Levitical priesthood brings men under, whoever they be, that are exercised in such ways.

† For in Pharoah's edict and Herod's also, they were slain before they were born.

geous unto us. We cannot but wonder that you should read the Scriptures and not find them fulfilled in and amongst yourselves, when as they appear so apparently, that he that runs may read them. What think you of Herod, when the Lord had delivered Peter out of prison, and released him of those bonds, and brought him from that thraldom which he had so cruelly imposed upon him, to gain the favor of the Jews, and that by a power supereminently transcending the bounds of his authority,* and by a wisdom surpassing the depth of his counsel and policy to find out, together with the soldiers and champions, he presently goes down to Cæsarea, and Herod is angry with them of Tyrus and Sydon, (Themomathon) a heavy friend or hath a secret grudge or perturbation of mind manifested in an outreaching and circumventing policy to subdue them unto himself, that he might rule over them, finding himself fall short of power and policy to subject the word of God in the messenger of it, to satisfy his own lust in his lordship over it, he pursues with all eagerness to make himself a God, by reigning over the bodies and estates of men; yea, though they be but such as Tyrus and Sydon can afford unto him to make subjects of; and when they are come to him with one accord to make offer of themselves in yielding to his affectionate and political project, he sitting on the judgment-seat in his royal apparel, making his oration of what power he hath to protect them, what wisdom and counsel to minister justice and righteousness unto them, which office belongs only unto the Lord, the people, with a shout, crying out, the voice of God and not of man; the truth and substance of which cry is, this is the ordinance of God and not of man. Immediately the angel of the Lord smites him, and he that ever acknowledged himself to be a worm, and no man upon

* That is, the authority of that wicked Herod. Acts, xii chapter, throughout.

the earth, consumes and eats up all his pomp and glory; even as those whom you account the shame and contempt of the people, shall, through that angel of the covenant, waste and bring to nought all those rhetorical, though earthly, orations that are made amongst you, by your so learned, studious and experienced clerks. Take for illustration of your estate as above, the speech of your Alderman Oliver, in case of committing Francis Hutchinson to prison; one of your church members, wondering that Brother Winthrop would do it before the Church had dealt with him; Brother, saith he, why, he is thy God, man. Send your eye yet further, to parallel your practise personated in Pilate and the people. When Pilate offers Jesus to the people to be judged, they profess they have such a law that puts no man to death; they are all for mercy and forgiveness, when they are out of the judgment-hall; but let Pilate enter in thither, then nothing but, crucify him, crucify him, be their accusation and witnesses never so false; even so in your dealings with men in way of your Jewish brotherhood, your law is all for mercy, to redress, to reform, and for the preservation both of soul and body; do but enter into the common hall, then as Pilate asked, am I a Jew, so do ye; do I sit or speak here as a brother, I trow not, I am now in a higher sphere, than that (though they be acknowledged coheirs with Christ) can attain unto; therefore if witness be brought in and oath taken, though never so untrue, your consciences are purged by law, and your power must have tribute paid unto it; so far as mens' names to be branded with infamy, (estates,) depriving women and children of things necessary, and the precious lives of men can extend themselves to contribute any thing thereunto, so that they professed mercy and clemency of your law to exercise censures only for amendment of life, and recovery, comes unto this issue, to send both soul and body down to Sheoll forever, without redress and all hope of recovery. But your

hour and the power of darkness, is known what it is; either to have men's persons in admiration, because of advantage, or else to seek all occasions against them, to brand them with all manner of reproach and ignominy; but for the truth taught daily in the temple, you know not how to stretch out your hand or exercise your ministry against it, lest it become leprous, and you take it back again with loss, when it appears dry and withered. And wherefore reason ye amongst yourselves, saying, we exercise the power of ministration against none but such as are delinquents; whereby we clear the innocent, and establish peace in our borders; we demand, what think you of those two witnesses, prophesying in sackcloth a thousand two hundred and threescore days, those two olive trees and candlesticks standing before the God of the earth? Are these guilty and vile persons, out of whose hands by the power of your ministry, you are delivering and releasing the world? Then, indeed, are your ways justifiable. But if these be the just, chosen and peculiar friends of God, such as without which, his truth and righteousness are not justified, his wisdom and holiness maintained and upheld in the world, in point of salvation by Christ; then, are your ways wicked, and to be abhorred; for in your professed course, you are they by whom they are slain and put to death, and all your glory is to keep their corpses unburied in your streets; and yet you know not what you are doing, no more than you know what these witnesses are whom you are altogether ignorant of; for your libraries never saw them, and you see not but by their eyes,* for these are two and never more; nor yet less, yea, ever the same. They are olive trees, else no witnesses, and also candlesticks, else both the former fail; yea, are not at all. We must tell you what these are, else we cannot declare how ye kill them; for it is not our interest

*That is, by what light they find in other mens' works.

to open unto you the house of the treasures, the silver and the gold, the spices and the precious ointment, nor the house of our armor; because ye take us all as execrable, and put all to a profane use that cometh from us. But these two witnesses are the life and death of our Lord Jesus Christ,* or (in the true language of heaven also) the strength and weakness of Christ; for he was crucified through weakness, but liveth by the power of God. This is the word of the Lord in Zorobabel, not by an army nor by power, (and so deprives him of all strength,) but by a spirit that the greatest mountain or loftiest hill in the world cannot stand before, but becomes a plain, which with facility and ease he passeth upon; thence, it is that he doth not only lay the top or head-stone of all, but also the lowest in the foundation, and then only, is the voice of shouting heard, Grace,—Grace, in the house forever; and then doth the day of small things become the day of joy and triumph, yea, of parting the rich spoils and prey of all the world; for then, he that doth but turn and lift up his eyes, he cannot look besides that great flying book of the curse, that is gone forth over the whole earth, without these two witnesses jointly uttering themselves in every particular scripture undertaken to be divulged by any; no evidence nor testimony of God is given, or brought in at all, but a mere refuge of lies for the souls of men to betake themselves unto, without these two pipes of the olive trees emptying into the bowls of the candlesticks, no unction nor oil at all is found in them; and that being wanting, the light of the sanctuary is gone out; so that the light appearing amongst you, is only the light of Balaam, whose eye was open, which you may read either Shethum, or Sethum;† for that opening is nothing

* Which comprehend his kingdom and priesthood set forth unto us in Joshua the High Priest, and Zorobabel, in their return out of Babylon to re-edify the temple; as in Zechary, the third and fourth chapters.

† Which signifies either opened or shut, as in Numb. xxiv. 3, 4.

else but the shutting up of the holy things of God, so that in seeing, ye see not; but communicate only in the light of that beast who puts the witnesses to death; as Balaam did in the sight of that dumb beast of his, whose eyes were so opened as to see the Angel before him.* So that while you think it is our wisdom to stoop unto you for light, we never come amongst you, but see ourselves in a regiment of gross and palpable darkness, and discern you very plainly how you scrabble upon the wall, to find the door of Lot's house, and cannot; as also, how you toil yourselves to climb up into the sheepfold another way, yea, so many other ways; and have no sight nor discerning of the door at all, by the which whosoever entereth, becomes a true feeder of the flock; yea, none entereth in thereat but the true shepherd himself. Most impious it is to put to death two such noble witnesses, that have power to shut heaven, that it rain not in the days of their prophesying, to turn waters into blood, and to smite the earth with all manner of plagues as oft as they will; whom, that spirit that is amongst you, kills on this wise. The life and power of the Son of God as above,† which is infinite, not admitting of circumscription or contenent, for the heaven of heavens cannot contain him; yet, have ye not dared to grasp and environ that power in the heavens; and therefore, have resolved and concluded that he only rules upon the earth in these days, by his deputies, lieutenants, and vicegerents, whereby you limit, and so destroy the Holy One of Israel; for, give him that in one time or place, which afterwards, or elsewhere, ye deny unto him, and you make a nullity of him unto yourselves; and in so doing you kill the other witness, the death or weakness of the Lord Je-

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*Numb. xxii. 25, 27. That is, before Balaam, so that the beast and Balaam have the same light and look.

† Being one of the two witnesses before noted, or his power and kingly authority.

sus;* for you must have man to be honorable, learned, wise, experienced and of good report, else they may not rule amongst you; yea, and these things are of man, and by man, as peers, in that they only officiate so as man may disannul and take it away again; witness your change of officers, constantly speaking to us herein. Thus have you slain also, the death or the weakness of Christ, who professeth himself to be a worm, and no man, the shame and contempt of the people; and to these faithful and true witnesses thus slain, you must, of necessity, deny burial, and keep them both in your streets in open view; otherwise all your pomp and glory falls to the dust† whence it came, and on which it feeds; nor can you send your presents one to another, of your acts of justice, power to protect, wealth, honor and friends, wherewith you gratify one another. And where these are thus slain, and their corpses lie in open view, none of the Gentiles, peoples, tongues and kindreds, suffering their corpses to be put in the grave, there is that great city, which spiritually is called Sodom, and Egypt, where our Lord is crucified. But after three days and an half, the spirit of life, from God, shall enter into them, and they shall stand up, upon their feet, to the terror of you all. Nor do you think that we only inveigh against the great ones of the world, for thus doing; for we know, that the greatest of the princes of this world, hath the very same spirit, wherewith the basest peasant, hath laid himself open in the view of all the world; and the basest peasant, hath the same spirit with the greatest of the princes of this world. These, we say, are the two witnesses, if you can receive it;

* Which is his priesthood, wherein he deprives himself of all power of man, or strength of the arm of flesh.

† That is, if the power of God and the weakness and frailty of man should not be so slain, as to be still kept as dead in sight of all, then could not the power and glory of the creature (as vicegerent unto the power and glory of God, in his absence) be seen, set up and made known.

and what dishonor is it to trade so much by means of witnesses, and yet, know not what a true witness is; which, if you did, you durst not attempt the things ye do, whereby you cast a reproach upon all the world, in that you profess yourselves, a choice people picked out of it; and yet, you go on with such practices as you do, maintaining them as your only glory. Our Lord gives you in charge, not to swear at all; but it is your dignity to bring men to your seats of justice, with nothing but oaths in their mouth. Why do you not balance the Scriptures in this point? It hath been said of old, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but, I say unto you, he that looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her in his heart, already. So, also, it hath been said of old, Thou shalt not forswear thyself; but, I say unto you, swear not at all; so that if it be adultery to look, to lust—it is also forswearing of a man's self, to swear at all; if one be adultery, the other is perjury; if one be admitted in some cases, the other also; so that in preaching the toleration, nay the duty of an oath, you preach the toleration, yea, the duty of adultery itself. So that our Lord plainly evinceth unto all mens' consciences, not only the guilt, but the folly and madness of the oath of man, to shew how far it is from investing into place or demonstrating causes. So that he that concludeth upon honor and power received from the oath of man, or upon knowledge and boldness to judge in a cause, from that testimony, without the which he could not have it, is as vain in his thoughts, as if he should hereupon conclude, I have now altered the frame of Heaven, which is no less stable than the throne of the great God; or demolished the earth, which is as firm as his footstool forever; or made a fraction in the orders of Jerusalem, that choice and peculiar city of the great King, whose institutions no mortal breath can intrench upon; or to profess his authority and skill to be such, whereby he can make a hair of his head black or white, viz. cause his age

to wax old as a garment, or to renew it, with the eagle, at his pleasure. Hereby doth man in this point of swearing, profess his folly to be such, that he is become not only vain in his imaginations, but to that pride and usurpation therein, as to intrude himself into the prerogative royal of his Maker; so that howsoever ye boast of the ordinances of God, yet he tells you, there is no more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, in them; for that which is once nay, is ever nay, in the ordination of Christ; and what is once yea, is ever yea. With him, and according to his account, (howsoever man reckoneth, whose accounts shall be called over again) what is once the curse, is ever the curse, and that which is once the principality and power of Christ, is ever the principality and power of Christ; as that which is once the principality and power of darkness is ever the same, what hands soever it cometh into: for manifestation, measure your kingdom whether it be eternal, and your jurisdiction whether it be unlimited; for he hath given him the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for his possession, and a kingdom of less extent he professeth not; nor can he approve or acknowledge any that do, no more than light can approve of darkness, or the Lord Jehovah of the lord Baal. Be wise, therefore, and bethink yourselves, while it is called to-day; harden not your hearts, as though you would make yourselves Meribah, nothing but strife and contention against the Lord; rather, kiss the Son, if it be possible, lest his wrath kindle, and you perish from the way forever. Oh, blessed only they that hope in him, so that he who professeth on this wise, it is yea, I am a pastor; but it was nay, at such a time I was none at all. He renounceth that spirit of the true pastor, yea, the only feeder of Israel; but professeth that spirit only, that pusheth the weak with the horn, and puddleth with his feet the waters where the flock of God should drink. He with whom it is yea, I am a ruler, but it was, nay, when I was none; renounceth that

spirit of him that rules in righteousness, professing the spirit of him that rules according to the god of this world, the prince of the power of the air, who is now working so effectually in the children of disobedience: so also, he with whom it is yea, I am a captain or chief slaughter-man;* but it was, nay, time was, I was none at all,—renounceth that victory and slaughter made by the captain and high priest of our profession, who, as he is a Lamb slain from the beginning, his victory and slaughter must be of the same antiquity, professing himself to be a chief slaughter-man or superfluous giant, made in the hosts of the Philistines, standing in readiness to come out to defy the hosts of the living God; yea, it is evident, whatsoever is more than yea, yea, and nay, nay, not setting each upon his base, whereon it standeth forever without control, but can remove, create, or make void offices and officers at their pleasure, is of that evil one, not of Jesus the salvation of his people, but of Shedim,† that waster and destroyer of mankind forever.‡ Know, therefore, that it is the oath of God, which confirms and makes good his covenant and promise to a thousand generations; and it is the oath of man, that is the bond and obligation of that league and agreement made with hell and death forever. Be ye assured, it is not the tabernacle

* As the word signifies.

† As the word signifies, given in the Chaldean tongue, for Devil.

‡ Understand these things according to the true intent, that is, any officer that lays claim to the things of the kingdom of God, by virtue of that his office, in that sense the truth of these things stand firm and good, and doth not deny or disallow any human ordinance of man in this world, so, it be kept in its bounds and proper place; for he that is a captain of the temple, that is, exerciseth force of arms for the help of the house of God, will ever, with the priests and soldiers, lay hands on Peter and John, to put them in the hold, at the least, if they preach Christ. But, Cornelius is no captain of that kind or kindred; for he is a Gentile of Cæsarea, and of the band called the Italian Band.

witness, which you, have amongst you brought in by Jesus, into the possession of the Gentiles; but it is Siccuth, your King, or the tabernacle of Moloch, the star of your god Remphan,—figures that you have made to yourselves, which you have taken up, and are bearing so stoutly upon your shoulders. Now, to tell you what an oath, according to God, is, that the Scriptures are delivered upon no other ground or terms of certainty, wherever they are divulged, is a thing out of your jurisdiction, you cannot discern or judge of it; therefore, according to your word above, we leave it as a parable to you, as all the holy word of our God is, as your conversation in all points, as in this, daily declareth. In a word, when we have to do in your jurisdiction, we know what it is to submit to the wise dispensations of our God. When you have to do amongst us, in the liberties he hath given us, we doubt not, but you shall find him judge amongst us, beyond and above any cause or thing you can propose unto us; and let that suffice you, and know, that you cannot maintain a jurisdiction, but you must reject all inroads into other mens' privileges; and so do we. In the mean time, we shall, as we think good, be calling over again some matters you have had up and had the handling of amongst you, to see what justice or equity we find hath been exercised in them, and redress them accordingly; for we profess right unto all men, and do no violence at all, as your prescripts threaten to do to us; for we have learned how to discipline our children or servants without offering violence unto them; even so, do we know how to deal with our deboist, rude, yea, inhuman neighbors, (or, if you will, Nabals) without doing violence, but rather rendering unto them that which is their due. Nor shall we deprive a witness of his modest testimony, for the outcries and clamors of such an one, as ill-bred, apostatized[1] Arnold,

[1] Why these epithets were applied to either of the Arnolds, William or

that felonious hog-killer being the party to be testified against, or for the oath of any interested in the cause*; nor shall we be forward to come so far to find you work† upon your request, till we know you to bear another mind, than others of your neighbors do, with whom we have had to do in this country; whose pretended and devised laws we have stooped under to the robbing and spoiling of our goods, the livelihood of our wives and children; thinking they had labored, though groping in gross darkness, to bring forth the truth in the right and equity of things. But finding them to be a company of gross and dissembling hypocrites, that, under the pretence of law and religion, have done nothing else, but gone about to establish themselves in ways to maintain their own vicious lusts, we renounce their diabolical practice, being such as have denied in their public courts that the laws of our native country should be named amongst them; yea, those ancient statute laws, casting us into most base, nasty and insufferable places of imprisonment, for speaking according to the language of them; in the meanwhile, breaking open our houses in a violent way of hostility, abusing our wives and our little ones, to take from us the volumes wherein they are preserved;

Benedict, I have not been able to ascertain. From what immediately follows, I presume, one of them was a witness in that famous hog case which engaged the attention of the magistrates and ministers of Massachusetts in 1636. The particulars of the case may be found in Sav. Wint. vol. 2, p. 69, &c. &c.—S.

*As they in the Massachusetts had lately done, to condemn the innocent, and justify such who otherwise had been proved guilty of felonious acts; even these their new made subjects, whose shame they would not permit to appear; but rather deprive sufficient witness of their testimony, at the guilty person's request.

† That is, to their Courts in the Massachusetts, to employ them about any matters of ours, living peaceably together, and far remote from them, out of all their jurisdictions.

thinking thereby to keep us ignorant of the courses they are resolved to run, that so the vitiosity of their own wills might be a law unto them; yea, they have endeavored, and that in public expressions, that a man being accused by them, should not have liberty to answer for himself, in open court. Dealings of like nature we find in the place whereof you style us your neighbors, on whose unbridled malice, we find a higher than you, putting a curb; and yet in your account and reckoning, we are the parties that are still doing the wrong, and must bear the guilt in your most mature sentence, in whomsoever the spot ariseth and abideth. But the God of vengeance, unto whom our cause is referred, never having our protector and judge to seek, will shew himself in our deliverance out of the hands of you all; yea, all the house of that Ishbosheth* and Meribbosheth,† nor will he fail us to utter and make known his strength wherein we stand, to serve in our age and to minister in our course, to-day, and to-morrow; and on the third day, can none deprive us of perfection; for he hath taught us to know what it is to walk to-day, and to-morrow, and the day following; also, when a perishing estate cannot arise out of Jerusalem, though she be the only one, yea, none but she, that kills the prophets, and stones them that are sent unto her. Behold ye that are looking after and foretelling so much of the coming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certain years, which some, you say, shall attain unto, and unto the day of death for the rest; ye blind guides, as your fathers have ever done, so do ye. Behold, we say, when he appeareth, your house which you so glory in, shall be left unto you desolate; it shall be turned into nothing but desolation and confusion, for Babel is its name;‡ nor shall you

* That is; man of shame.

† Mouth of shame.

‡ That is, as the word signifies, confusion.

see him to your comfort, in the glory of his kingdom until you can say,—Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; when the authority and power of man appeareth to be the building of Babel unto you and the name and authority of God only, to be that wherein the blessing consists, and that in such wise also, as is nothing but a way of reproach in the eyes of all the world; that a king should ride into his chief city, so strangely furnished, upon an ass, borrowed, her furniture, old, overworn garments, and accompanied with none, but poor, mean, excommunicate persons, such as your Elders, Scribes, Pharisees, Lawyers and all your credible persons among you make full account that they are not only accursed by, but also destitute and void of, all law; when you can find Hosanna in the highest, arising out of such contempt and shame; then and then only shall you sing unto him with comfort. In the mean time, acknowledge your portion, which is to trust and stay yourselves on the name of man, and in his beauty to delight and glory, which shall fade as a leaf, and like the grass shall wither, when it is fitting itself for the oven. Such is man, whose breath is in his nostrils, and the son of sorry man, in whom you have delight to trust. His power and policy brings forth nothing else, but as you shall see and hear in the country from whence we are brought. We are not ignorant of those shameful lies, and falsities gone out against us, and the daily wresting of your words, to cast contempt upon us, thinking to bow down our backs under ignominy and reproach; neither, of the straits and difficulties, they have cast upon us in the things that concern this present life, to the taking away of the lives of many, if our God had not been seen beyond and above what their thoughts could reach unto, (as their own confession had witnessed) doing it in such a way, of painted hypocrisy and false gloss, unto the eye of the world, that we might seem unto it, self-executioners. We resolve, therefore, to follow our employ-

ments, and to carry and behave ourselves as formerly we have done, and no otherwise; for we have wronged no man, unless with hard labor, to provide for our families, and suffering of gross, idle and idol drones, to take our labors out of the mouths, and from off the backs of our little ones, to lordane it over us; so that if any shall go about to disturb or annoy us henceforth in our employments and liberties, which God hath or shall put into our hands, that can claim no interest in us but by these courses;* what their business is, we know by proof sufficient, to be nothing else but that ancient errand of Nimrod, that rebellious hunter after the precious life; which errand of his shall be no more delivered unto us in that covert cruelty and dissembling way of hypocrisy, but in direct and open terms of tyranny. We will not be dealt with as before; we speak in the name of our God, we will not; for, if any shall disturb us as above, secret hypocrites shall become open tyrants, and their laws appear to be nothing else but mere lusts, in the eyes of all the world. And wherefore do you murmur among yourselves at this saying, thinking it is not a Christian expression? It is because you are ignorant of the cross of our Lord Jesus, not knowing what it is; therefore it is, while you inveigh against such as set up a statue of wood and stone, to bow down unto it, and are so vain as to cross the air, to use your own expression, upon the faces of infants when they sprinkle them with water to as great purpose, and in the mean time you preach and set up Seighnirim, for your cross, whom you fall down unto so willingly; and lest you let the word pass without expression of it unto all; it signifies horror and fear, which is the cross you hold and teach, and by and through which you think to be saved, which name is

* Knowing ourselves to be free subjects to the laws and Government of our native country, and not unto any government extended out of its bounds and jurisdiction.

given by our Lord to the Devil himself, as our English translate it, and the Lord never gives a name as an empty title, but according to the nature of the thing named, so that if he speak, I have said ye are gods, of any besides himself, it is to declare, that they have not only the name but the very nature of the god of this world; and therefore he saith, they shall die even as Adam, who aspired and usurped the place of God, and fall also as one of the princes, even as one of those princes of Midian, whose carcases became dung for the earth; and he that gives that title unto any but the true God, that made heaven and earth, in any other sense, but as it declareth a flat opposition against God, is reacting that ancient spirit of the serpent, If you eat you shall be as gods,* to judge of good and evil, for which all men are set up in that kind; even so while you tell the people, that by sorrow, compunction and anxiety of spirit, and trouble of mind they communicate in the sufferings of Christ, out of which condition their comfort is to flow; it is nothing else but to conclude, the Son of God to be Belial; yea, to affirm him to be Seighnirim himself. This doth he receive at your hands in your ministers, for all your fawning upon him with a kiss; so that if you will know how far you are from communicating in the death of Christ, take it in this parable, verily as far as the weakness of God is stronger than man. Countrymen, for we cannot but call you so, though we find your carriage to be so far worse than these Indians, we advise you to take things together, and what God hath joined, let none dare to put asunder; so that if you be ashamed of the cross in baptism, be ashamed of the baptism also; for such as the cross is, such is the

* For he that assumeth a title unto himself, without respect unto Christ, in whom the whole glory thereof consists, such mind and disposition prosecuted and followed to its height according to the rise thereof, sets itself in direct terms of opposition against Christ, and hath that spirit of the god of this world.

baptism. Therefore, your ancestors go beyond you, in that they join crossing of the air, and sprinkling with the element of water, together. But, wherever baptism, according to the word of Christ, is, there is the cross of Christ also; they can no more be separated than his sceptre and kingdom can, for where the one is, there is the other also; for as they are coincident, so are they co-apparent. So that if ever you see the baptism of Christ, truly in use and exercised upon any, you do as truly see that party partaking and communicating with the cross and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ; and to see persons in such estate, and conclude afterward they are worthy of censure, yea, possibly to Anathema Maranatha, is nothing else, but to conclude a total and final falling away from the grace of God, as your fathers have done before you; for no grace greater than the cross of our Lord Jesus. Behold, therefore, you despisers, the vanity and abomination of all your baptisms; how prejudicial they are to the cross of Christ. Be ashamed, and return in time, or he shall be a swift witness against you forever, when your repentance shall come too late. But you think the cross of Christ is not but in bowing the back under every burden, and cringing and crouching to the lust of every man, otherwise his Shebet* is not fit, nor suiteth it with your regimen at all, unless so servile, that every one may serve their lusts of him, to wealth and honor, friends and allies, by setting bounds and limits to the holy word of God, some in the way of one devise, some in the way of another, and he that will not walk as a dumb beast, worse than Balaam's Ass, and say nothing, or else give a sense of the holy writings to maintain that devised platform, if mercy must be used not to hang and burn, yet banishment is ready waiting for them. Therefore shall you know by the rod of his power that comes out of Sion, that he will be ruler, even in the midst of his enemies.

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* That is, his sceptre, rod, staff or tribe.

By us, whom you style your neighbors of Providence; you have said it, Providence is our hold; the neighborhood of the Samaritan we profess, and for the lookings on, and turnings aside of your Priests and Levites, without either unction or compassion, all your slain and wounded in soul, finding no remedy, do plainly testify the nature of your travels and neighborhood, what it is. Your speech to us in general, not using our names, when as we know it is particulars you aim at, gives us plainly to see the word Aelem,* revived and living in you, as it stands with its coherence, in Psalm lviii. verse 1, &c.

JOHN WICKES,
RANDALL HOULDEN,
JOHN WARNER,
ROBERT POTTER,
RICHARD WATERMAN,
WILLIAM WADDLE,
SAMUEL GORTON,
RICHARD CARDER,
JOHN GREENE,
NICHOLAS POWER,
FRANCIS WESTON,
SAMPSON SHOTTON.†[1]

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* The word Aelem signifies dumbness, so that the phrase is, do ye indeed do dumb justice, O Congregation, and so describe such persons, what they are that speak not a word of righteousness, in their acts and executions; which Psalm showed into us the spirit, practice, and success of our adversaries.

† These being the purchasers of Shawomet, the Sachem Myantonomi, as he sold it to twelve men, so his price was that every man should pay twelve fathom of Wampumpeage, that is, one hundred and forty-four fathoms, as our deed which he made unto us, being extant, witnesseth to be paid unto him.

[1] John Wickes or Weeks, as it is sometimes written, was in Plymouth as

This writing, sent to the Massachusetts, we have related verbatim, only what is in the margin is added for explana-

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early as 1637. He and his wife became proselytes of Gorton while there, and probably left that place and went to Rhode-Island with him. He was received as an inhabitant of Rhode-Island on the 20th June, 1639. When he left the island is uncertain. After the settlement of Shawomet, he was one of the leading men in the plantation, and held the offices of Town Deputy, Assistant, &c. He was slain by the Indians in 1675, being, as Callender says, "a very ancient man." The Town Council of Warwick made a will for him, as was the custom in those days, when the deceased left no will. He had a son John. Many of his descendants are now living in Warwick.

Randall Holden came originally from Salisbury in England. When he first arrived in this country, is not certain. He probably left Massachusetts with the first settlers of Rhode-Island, and perhaps before. He and Roger Williams were the witnesses to Conanicus and Miantonomi's deed to the purchasers of the island, on 24th March, 1638. He also signed the first agreement or covenant entered into between them for their government on the 7th of April in the same year. March 16, 1642, he was disfranchised. The complaint against him is not recorded. The whole record of the transaction is this:—"It is ordered, that Richard Carder, Randall Holden, Sampson Shotton and Robert Potter, be disfranchised of the privileges and prerogatives belonging to the body of this State, and that their names be cancelled out of the record."

On the following day, this further order was passed by the colony of Rhode-Island.

"It is ordered, that if John Wickes, Randall Holden, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, or Robert Potter, shall come upon this island, armed, they shall be by the constable, calling to himself sufficient aid, disarmed and carried before the magistrate, and there find sureties for their good behavior; and further be it established, that if that course shall not regulate them or any of them, then a further due and lawful course by the magistrates shall be taken in their Sessions; provided that this order, hinder not the course of law already begun with John Wickes."

Holden was elected Marshal of the colony, at their first election. His children were Randall, who married Betty Waterman; Charles, who married Catharine, Greene; Mary, who married John, son of Richard Carder; Elizabeth, who married John Rice; Sarah, who married Joseph Stafford;

ation, and more ease to the reader to understand our meaning, which we sent at the time when their General Court

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Margaret, who married John Eldridge; Susanna, who married Benjamin Greene; Barbara, who married Samuel Wickham, and Frances, who married John Holmes.

Robert Potter was admitted a freeman in Massachusetts, Sept. 3, 1631. He removed to Rhode-Island, and was received as an inhabitant there July 16, 1639. The time of his leaving that colony, may be inferred from the preceding part of this note. He was licensed in Feb. 1649, to keep an ordinary in Warwick. He died the latter part of 1661, leaving a son John, and a daughter Deliverance, who married James, son of John Greene. On the 5th of November, 1661, the Town Council of Warwick met "to agitate" about his estate, he having died intestate. They directed one of his creditors to sell "his land and housing," and "having satisfied himself out of it, if aught remains, deliver it to John Potter, as a legacy from the Council." In these days, we should think it rather the right of John Potter, as heir of his father. John however soon paid the debt, and the creditor transferred the "land and housing" to him.

Richard Waterman was in Salem as early as 1636. The tradition is that he came to this country in the same vessel with Roger Williams. He removed from Salem after Williams's banishment, and settled with him at Providence. His name is the twelfth in Williams's first deed. He did not remove to Shawomet, but resided at Providence and Newport till his death, which was on the 28th of October, 1673. He left a number of children whose descendants are very numerous. A son of his married a Carder of Warwick, probably a daughter of Richard Carder, and another son, Resolved, and not Richard, as stated in Note on page 43, married Mercy, a daughter of Roger Williams. On the 12th March, 1638, he was licensed by the General Court of Massachusetts, to remove out of that jurisdiction, provided he removed his family before the next General Court. Francis Weston, Stukely Westcott, Richard Carder, Thomas Olney and others, were also included in the same sentence.

William Waddle was one of those who were disarmed at Boston in 1637, see Note on page 45. I can find no traces of this individual, either in tradition or in the records. A William Wodel lived on Rhode-Island, as late as Feb. 12, 1689. He had a son William, who was of age in 1684.

Richard Carder was admitted a freeman in Massachusetts, May 25, 1636. He was disarmed in Boston, 1637. From Boston he removed to Rhode-

sat, desiring that all the country might take notice of it, doubting they were not well informed how the magistrates

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Island with the first planters, and was one of the signers of their original covenant, in 1638. Being disfranchised, he left Rhode-Island and removed to Shawomet. He died at Newport, in the time of the Indian war, supposed in 1675 or 6. He had a son, John, who married Mary, daughter of Randall Holden. His descendants are numerous in Warwick.

John Greene came from Salisbury in England, and settled first in Massachusetts. He was a surgeon in England, and brought with him to this country, his wife, five sons and one daughter. He went to Providence, soon after its settlement, and his name is the fifth in Williams's first deed. In 1637, he was again in Massachusetts. At a Court holden on the 5th of August, 1637, he was bound over to the next Quarter Court, for having spoken contemptuously against the magistrates. At the Quarter Court, he was fined £20, and "forbid to come into that jurisdiction, on pain of fine and imprisonment." On his submission, his fine was remitted. After his return to Providence, he retracted his submission by letter, and charged the magistrates with usurping the power of Christ in his Church, and with persecution toward Williams. "On receipt of this letter," says Winthrop, "because the Court knew that divers others of Providence were of the same ill affection to the Court, and were probably suspected to be confederate in the same letter, the Court ordered; that "if any of that plantation were found in our jurisdiction, he should be brought before one of the magistrates; and if he would not disclaim the charges in the said letter, he should be sent home, and charged to come no more into this jurisdiction upon pain of imprisonment and further censure." He married Mrs. Alse Daniels, after he removed to Providence, for his second wife. His children were, Peter, who married a daughter of Samuel Gorton; John, who married an Almy of Rhode-Island; James, who married Deliverance, daughter of Robert Potter; Thomas, who married a Barton; Henry, and a daughter Mary, who married a Sweet. On the 25th September, 1644, he sold his interest in the Providence purchase to his son John. At that time he was residing at Occupassuatuxet, in Warwick. The General Court of Massachusetts, in October, 1658, granted him leave to visit his friends there, for one month, "sometime in the next summer, he behaving himself peaceably and inoffensively." This was done at the request of their Secretary, Edward Rawson. The year preceding, John Greene, Jun. addressed a letter to Rawson, in which he called him cousin, and the letter was filed by Rawson,

and ministers had carried themselves towards us, nor upon what ground they had or did proceed against us. But the chief of them taking the matter into consideration, thought good to call an assembly of magistrates and ministers, to consult, in way of a Synod,[1] what course to take, uniting

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"Cousin Greene's letter. John Greene was prevented by death from availing himself of this liberty. He died in the winter of 1658, leaving a will, dated Dec. 28, 1658, which was proved the 7th of January following. His descendants are very numerous. It was the second John Greene who was Deputy Governor in 1700, and not the first as stated by Mr Savage, Sav. Wint.vol. 1, p. 256.

Nicholas Power never lived at Shawomet. He was one of the early settlers of Providence, where he was admitted a purchaser. It is believed, that he came with Williams; but he was not named as a purchaser in Williams's first deed. He died at Providence, August 25, 1657, intestate, leaving a widow, Jane, a son Nicholas, and a daughter, Hope. In 1667 the Town Council of Providence made a will for him. As such proceedings are believed to have been peculiar to the State of Rhode-Island, I have inserted the preamble and conclusion of the will, in Appendix, No. 14, for the gratification of the curious. His son Nicholas married Rebecca, daughter of Zachary Rhodes. The tradition is, that he was killed in the Indian war of 1675.

Francis Weston was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts in November, 1633. He was one of the deputies from Salem to the General Court in 1634. His name is the tenth in Williams's first deed to the purchasers of Providence. He died before June 4, 1645, as will appear in the course of this narrative.

Sampson Shotton. The time of his arrival, and place of his landing in this country, I have not been able to ascertain. He was received an inhabitant at Rhode-Island, July 16, 1639, and disfranchised in 1642, as before stated.—S.

[1] It was usual for the magistrates and General Court of Massachusetts, to consult with the elders or ministers, on every important occasion, whether relating to Church or State. On receipt of the foregoing letter, the elders of Boston and the neighboring towns were undoubtedly consulted; though not called together "in way of a Synod," as Gorton states. In June, following, a Synod was held in Massachusetts.

No common meed of praise is due to any body of men, who could so

themselves together, that what was done by any of them, might be the act of them all; and they, perusing of our writings, framed out of them twenty-six particulars, or thereabouts, which they said were blasphemous, changing of phrases, altering of words and sense; not, in any one of them taking the true intent of our writings; but if they spake our own words, it was to such purpose as this; as though a man would write the words of the Psalm, and affirm (there is no God) which words he may find written therein; but if he leave out this, That the fool hath said in his heart, so, he spoils the sense; and in such a manner did they deal with our writings, and those things they were free to divulge and make known amongst the people. These things they concluded to be heresies and blasphemies, before ever they heard a word of what interpretation we could give of our meaning therein. The ministers did zealously preach unto the people the great danger of such things, and the guilt such lay under that held them; stirring the people up, to labor to find such persons out, and to execute death upon them, making persons so execrable in the eyes of the people, whom they intimated should hold such things, yea, some of them naming some of us in their pulpits,* that

well comprehend the foregoing letter, as to be able to select "twenty-six particulars" from it, which they could pronounce blasphemous.—S.

* As Mr Cobbett,[1] who cried out against Gorton, that arch heretic, who, saith he, would have all men to be preachers. But if he had turned his speech against Moses, who wished that all the Lords's people were prophets, he had far more plainly expressed the bent of his spirit, and what manner of zeal he had.

[1] Probably Thomas Cobbett. He was born in England, 1608, arrived in New-England, 1637; was at Lynn, about twenty years, and then was settled at Ipswich, where he was the fourth minister. He died in 1685. He was the author of a pamphlet entitled, "The Civil Magistrate's power in matters of Religion modestly debated, &c. with a Brief Answer to a slanderous pamphlet called, Ill News from New-England." Both these pam-

the people that had not seen us, thought us to be worse by far in any respect, than those barbarous Indians are in the country, which some of the ministers have rendered unto the people as Hittites, Canaanites and Peresites, urging it as a duty unto the English to put them to death; whereupon we heard a rumor that the Massachusetts was sending out an army of men to cut us off, but when they perceived we were removed further into the country, and had left our lands, houses and labors, where their pretended subjects, by means of whom they sought for some temporal occasions against us, lived, they thought it not safe to come out against us, having show of nothing against us, but only our religion; therefore, seeing themselves disappointed in that design, wherein their coadjutors had wrought to bring them in to make an inroad upon us, they then wrought by these their agents, who traded for them with the Indians, to insinuate themselves into two or three Indians amongst us, to become subjects to the government of Massachusetts, hereby withdrawing them from their lawful and natural Prince, Miantonomi; and the name of these his subjects, who now became subjects to the Massachusetts, were Pomham and Sacconono co;[1] and when this was accomplished,

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phlets are exceedingly rare. The latter one was written by Dr. John Clark, one of the founders of the colony on Rhode-Island.—S.

[1] The Government of Massachusetts took no immediate steps against Gorton and his associates, on receiving the letter just given in the text. In the January following, (1643) Miantonomi executed to them the deed of Shawomet. This deed and their removal to the lands described and conveyed by it, being several miles south of Pawtuxet river, and of the lands occupied by the Arnolds, and by them subjected to Massachusetts, ought to have protected Gorton and his associates from further molestation. They had ceased to intrude on the lands of the proteges of Massachusetts, and had sought a refuge among the natives, beyond where any English settlement had been made. But the real objects of the Massachusetts Government had not been attained—the heretics lived, and the outlet into the Narragansett

then they again sent forth their warrants unto us, as formerly, to command our appearance at their courts in the Mas-

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Bay was not secured. The situation of affairs, however, required some new pretext for their interference. The readiest that suggested itself, was the submission of the Indians in the vicinity, to their jurisdiction. The means to obtain such a submission were within their power. The Arnolds were well qualified to aid them in this behalf, as they understood the language of the natives, and Benedict is charged by Gorton with "constantly trading with them on the Sabbath-day." It is natural to suppose they would be anxious to conciliate their new masters, and not less ready to do it, at the expense of their own enemies. Accordingly, early in the year 1643, Pomham and Saccononeco, styled by Winthrop "two Sachems, near Providence, having under them two or three hundred men," visit Boston in company with Benedict Arnold, and complain that Miantonomi, chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, at the instigation of Gorton, had compelled one of them, to sign the deed to Gorton, given in Appendix, No. 13. At the same time they desired to be taken under the protection of Massachusetts. This request was referred to the next General Court, and a letter was sent to Miantonomi and Gorton, informing them of these complaints and request. At that Court, Miantonomi appeared, and "being demanded in open court," "whether he had any interest in the said two Sachems, as his subjects, he could prove none." Cutshamekin, a Sachem, who resided near Dorchester Mill, "affirmed he had none, and that they were as free Sachems as himself." "Benedict Arnold affirmed, partly upon his own knowledge, and partly upon the relation of divers Indians of those parts, that the Indians belonging to these Sachems, did usually pay their deer skins, which are a tribute to the chief Sachem, always to them and never to Miantonomi, or any other Sachem of Narragansett; which Miantonomi could not contradict." Upon this, the matter was referred to the Governor, and some of the magistrates and deputies, to send for the two Sachems, to treat with them on the subject. At this Court, two of the deputies were sent to speak with Gorton and his associates, about the letter, and see "whether they would own that writing which was subscribed by them all." This was at best but a shallow pretext; their names were to the letter. On the 22d of June following, these Indians went to Boston and signed the submission, given in Appendix No. 15, which was interpreted to them by Benedict Arnold. I have been thus particular in this transaction, as it is the pretended foundation of the next proceedings against Gorton.

Whether Pomham and Saccononeco were independent Sachems, or

sachusetts, and that without any consideration or delay at the first time of their sending unto us, after our removal;

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not, cannot now be determined beyond a doubt, though I confess I am satisfied they were not. The statements of Roger Williams and William Coddington, establish the extent of the Narragansett dominions. Coddington and his company purchased Rhode-Island of the chief Sachems of that tribe, and Williams purchased Providence of them. Williams states further; that "Conanicus' father and ancestors, living in these Southern parts," that is, in what is now Washington County, R. I. translated and brought their authority into these Northern parts, all along by the sea side." Is it probable that the Narragansetts, a powerful nation, would have permitted two Sachems with only two or three hundred men, to remain, independent, in the very heart of their territories? The Narragansetts, escaped the pestilence which, just before 1620, had almost annihilated the tribes in New-England. At the time of the settlement of this country, by Europeans, they were extending their dominions far and wide. The Sachems around Massachusetts Bay were tributary to them. In 1632, when the Narragansetts went to fight with the Pequods, they sent for these Sachems, and they, with all their men, obeyed the summons. It also appears from Davis's Morton, page 67, Note,—that the Sachems of Shawmut and Neponset, "acknowledged a degree of subjection to Massasoit," Sachem of the Wampanoags. These "acknowledged a degree of subjection" to the Narragansetts. Williams states in a "testimony" dated 13th of 10th mo. (December) 1661, that the Narragansett Sachems, "declared to him that Ousamequin was their subject," and had "subjected himself and his lands unto them at the Narragansett; only now he seemed to revolt from his loyalties, under the shelter of the English at Plymouth." "This," says Williams, "I declared from the Narragansett Sachems to Ousamequin, who, without any stick, acknowledged it to be true, that he had so subjected as the Narragansett Sachems affirmed." Ousamequin and Massasoit were different names of the same Sachem.

Cutshamekin, therefore, in his testimony before the General Court, told the truth, but not the whole of it, when he testified that Pomham and Sacononoco were "as free Sachems as himself," he being a petty Sachem under Massasoit, one of the tributaries of the Narragansetts.

The title uniformly applied to Canonicus, Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, was peculiar to him; and may it not imply that extended dominion over tributary Sachems, which it seems he possessed in a pre-eminent degree?

the court being then sitting at Boston, in the Massachusetts.

Here followeth a true copy of the first warrant sent unto us, by the General Court assembled at Boston, in the Massachusetts, after our removal unto and planting upon our land at Shawomet, verbatim; the warrant under their hands being still extant.

To our Neighbors, Master Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Houlden, Robert Potter, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, John Warner, and William Waddle. [1]

Whereas we have received upon good ground, into our jurisdiction and protection, two Indian Sachems, whose names are Pumham and Sacconono; who have lately complained to us of some injurious and unjust dealing toward them by yourselves, and because we desire to do equal right and justice to all, and that all parties might be heard, we have, therefore, thought good to write unto you, to give you notice hereof, that so you might make present answer in the General Court now assembled at Boston, to their

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Arnold had a deep interest in establishing the independency of Pomham and Sacconono. In the April preceding their submission, he purchased of the latter a tract of land near Pawtuxet, as appears by a deed to him witnessed by Increase Nowell. This deed was not recorded, and perhaps not published in Providence, until October, 1648.

Under these circumstances, I am inclined to believe the assertion of Gorton, who had every means of ascertaining the truth, that the Chief Sachem of the Narragansetts, was "their lawful and natural Prince."—S.

[1] Why this warrant, as Gorton styles it, was not directed to John Greene, Richard Waterman, Sampson Shotton and Nicholas Power, as well as to the others of Gorton's company, I am unable to ascertain. They were grantees in Miantonomi's deed, and are named in the next warrant from Massachusetts, which reiterates the same complaints, with this. I presume that their names were in the original, and omitted in the copy by mistake.—S.

complaints, who are now here with us, to attend your coming. And because some of you have been denied the liberty of coming amongst us, and it may be, that others are not willing in other respects personally to appear,* and we do therefore hereby give and grant safe conduct for your free egress and regress unto us, whereby there may be no just excuse for withholding you to give satisfaction in this particular. Per. Cur. General,

INCR. NOWELL, Secret.

Dated the 12th of 7th mo. 1643.

This warrant being delivered unto us, by some of their forenamed agents, the English, we presently returned them this answer by word of mouth, by their messenger, telling them, that we being so far out of their jurisdictions, could not, neither would we acknowledge subjection unto any in the place where we were, but only the State and Government of Old England, who only had right unto us, and from whom we doubted not, but in due season we should receive direction for the well ordering of us in all civil respects; and in the mean time we lived peaceably together, desiring and endeavoring to do wrong to no man, neither English nor Indian, ending all our differences in a neighborly and loving way of arbitrators, mutually chosen amongst us.[1] They receiving our answer, took it disdainfully, as their intent was to take any we sent, without our personal appearance; being resolved what course to run concerning us. Whereupon they sent us another writing, immediately from the Court, to inform us that they were resolved to come down amongst us, to exercise justice there.

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* They having banished some of us, five or six years before, and threatening, that if some of us were amongst them, we should hardly see the place of our abode any more.

[1] This was the method of ending differences reported by a committee, and adopted in the colony at Providence, as stated in a former note.—S.

Here followeth a true copy of the writing which they sent unto us, verbatim, being still extant:

To Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, John Warner, John Greene, Randall Houlden, Francis Weston, Robert Potter, Richard Waterman, Richard Carder, Sampson Shotton, Nicholas Power and William Waddle.

Whereas, upon occasion of divers injuries, offered by you to us, and the people under our jurisdiction, both English and Indians, we have sent to you to come to our court, and there make answer to the particulars charged upon you, and safe conduct to that end; to which you have returned us no other but contemptuous and disdainful answers; and now, at the last, that if we would send to yourselves, that the course might be examined, and heard amongst your own neighbors, we should then have justice and satisfaction; we have, therefore, that our moderation and justice may appear to all men, agreed to condescend herein to your own desire, and therefore intend shortly to send Commissioners into your parts, to lay open the charges against you, and to hear your reasons and allegations, and thereupon to receive such satisfaction from you as shall appear in justice to be due. We give you also to understand, that we shall send a sufficient guard with our Commissioners, for their safety against any violence or injury; for seeing you will not trust yourselves with us, upon our safe conduct, we have no reason to trust ours with you, upon your bare courtesy. But this you may rest assured of; that if you will make good your own offer to us of doing us right, our people shall return and leave you in peace, otherwise we must right ourselves and our people, by force of arms.

Per Cur.

INCREASE NOWELL, Secret.

Dated the 19th of the 7th mo. 1643.

The next news we had, immediately upon the receipt of this writing, (being about our necessary employments in

provision for our families) was this; that one Capt. George Cooke,[1] with a company of armed soldiers,[2] accompanied with many Indians, having commission from the Massachusetts, either to bring us away by force of arms, or else to put us to the sword; which, when we heard, we partly believed, in regard they had given order by public court, long before, that no gunpowder should be sold into those parts where we lived, but only to such as would become subjects to them; whereby the place was not only hindered of means of defence from a foreign enemy, but also to furnish their families with such provisions as the country affords. We, hearing of their approach, immediately sent a letter to those which we heard they styled Commissioners, which proved to be the Captain, together with his officers; desiring to know their intent, and what their commission was to do in those parts, signifying, that if they came to visit us in way of neighborhood and friendship to clear any matter or cause, they should be welcome to us; but if otherwise, we wished them not to set a foot upon our lands in any hostile way.

A true copy of our letter, verbatim, sent to the Commissioners, as they were upon the way, coming from the Massachusetts towards Shawomet.

SHAWOMET, the 28th of Sept. 1643.

TO CERTAIN MEN, STYLED COMMISSIONERS, SENT FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS, NOW UPON THE WAY TOWARDS SHAWOMET, WHOSE NAMES WE KNOW NOT.

Whereas, you are sent by the Government of the Massachusetts, under pretence of having things ordered amongst us in way of justice and equity, to be distributed unto them-

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[1] Captain Cooke arrived in Massachusetts at an early period. In 1636, he was admitted a freeman. After this he was a deputy from Cambridge, and in 1645, was chosen Speaker. He afterwards returned to England, and held a Colonel's commission in Cromwell's army.—S.

[2] According to Winthrop, vol. 2d, p. 138, there were forty soldiers sent on this expedition.—S.

selves, consisting (as they say) of English and Indians,* and that upon this ground, that we have given them an invitation to that purpose; know, therefore, our whole intent and meaning therein, which may not bear any other interpretation in a rational mind; that as they invited us unto them, as clients to have our causes tried by them, and not as warriors to fight with them, so did we and no otherwise invite them. Mistake us not, therefore, neither deceive yourselves through their or your own pretences; for, if you come to treat with us in ways of equity and peace, (together therewith shaking a rod over our heads, in a band of soldiers) be you assured, we have passed our childhood and nonage in that point; and are under commission of the great God, not to be children in understanding, neither in courage, but to quit ourselves as men. We straitly charge you, therefore, hereby, that you set not a foot upon our lands in any hostile way, but upon your peril; and that if any blood be shed, upon your own heads shall it be: And know, that if you set an army of men upon any part of our land, contrary to our just prohibition herein, we are under command, and have our commission sealed already, to resist you unto death; for this is the law of our God, by whom we stand, written in all mens' hearts, that if you spread a table before us as friends, we sit not as men invective, envious, or malcontent, not touching a morsel nor looking for you to point us unto our dish; but we eat with you by virtue of the unfeigned law of relations, not only to satisfy our stomachs, but to increase friendship and love, the end of feasting: So also, if you visit us as combatants or warriors, by the same law of relations, we as freely and cheerfully answer you unto death; not to kill and take away the lives

* That is, their united body which they so much delight and glory in, consists, by their own, confession of such mixture of members, as that part are heathens by their own report.

of men, but to increase wrath and horror, the end of war, in the souls of all men that seek after it, where the peace of our God appears not; and they that work otherwise, and answer not unto this law, they are not men of truth, but base, dissembling hypocrites, shadows and abominable idols, set up in the form of men.

By us, Owners and Inhabitants of Shawomet.[1]

This letter being sent unto these Commissioners so styled by them, though as yet unknown unto us, by the hand of one John Peise,[2] who lived amongst them in the Massachusetts, who, having a father-in-law amongst us, was willing to come and declare unto his father, out of his tenderness towards him, of the nearness of the soldiers' approach, and as near as he could the end of their coming, to persuade his said father to escape for his life. And when the Captain and the rest of the Commissioners had read our letter, they returned us this answer by the same messenger, namely, that they desired to speak with us, to see if they could convert us to be of their minds, bringing a minister with them to accomplish their ends in such designs, which if they could not, then they would account of us as men fitted for the slaughter, and with all convenient speed, would address themselves for our despatch, in the ruin of us and of our families.

Here followeth a true copy of the answer made by the Commissioners unto our letter, verbatim, under their hands, which is still extant:

To our friend John Peise.

Having considered of the writing you brought to us the last night, our thoughts concerning it are as followeth: It is

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[1] The terms of this letter are more intelligible, though the matter was probably not less offensive than the preceding one from Gorton.—S.

[2] The name of this individual does not occur in the records of Warwick, nor have I been able to find any reference to him in any history of those times.—S.

our great desire that we might speak with them concerning the particulars, which we were sent to them about;* certainly persuading ourselves, that we shall be able through the Lord's help, to convince some of them at least, of the evil of their way, and cause them to divert their course, that so doing they may preserve their lives and liberties, which otherwise must necessarily lead to eternal ruin of them and theirs; for however, through an evil spirit that hath possessed some one or two of them, others are drawn into such desperate evils as is monstrous to think of; yet having better counsel, we hope they will be brought to see their weakness and repent of it, that so we might return and leave them and theirs in peace; which is our great desire, and the contrary most grievous; but if there be no way of turning them, we then shall look upon them as men prepared for slaughter, and, accordingly, shall address ourselves with all convenient speed, not doubting of the Lord's presence with us being clear in the way we are in. This being our minds, we entreat you to acquaint them with it speedily, and if they shall, who have set their names to the

* This letter doth plainly declare the proper intent of the Massachusetts [1] in sending out this band of soldiers against us; namely, in the falsifying of our faith to God, to subject ourselves unto them, who never named the least word unto us, as though they came against us in the name of the King and State of Old England, but in the name of the Government of the Massachusetts, or else to pay the tribute of our lives unto them, in the utter ruin of our wives and children, which these men having received in commission, together with instruction how to accomplish and effect the same from those that sent them, count it their glory to reveal and make manifest the same, which the Massachusetts had so long gone about to hide under the color of some civil miscarriage in our course of walking towards men, in regard themselves had professed, to remove into those parts merely for the liberty of conscience, which now they so zealously deny unto their neighbors.

[1] It rather declares what the Commissioners themselves deemed to be the true object of their mission.—S.

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book, come to us and speak with us, we shall give them leave to return without hurt.

Your friends and Commissioners, sent by the Government of the Massachusetts Bay into these parts.

GEORGE COOKE,
EDWARD JOHNSON,[1]
HUMPHREY ATHERTON.

The return of this answer from the Commissioners, as above, affrighted our wives and children, forcing them to betake themselves, some into the woods among the Indians, suffering such hardship as occasioned the death of divers of them,* and others going to take water, to depart to other plantations for succour, the soldiers approached before they could take boat, who presented their muskets at women

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* As the wife of John Greene, as also the wife of Robert Potter, other women miscarrying, to the loss of their children. So also Francis Weston, through cold and hardship in prison, fell into a consumption, and in a short time after, died of it.

[1] Edward Johnston was the author of the "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Savior, in New-England." He emigrated to this country from Herne-Hill, England, in 1630, and was admitted a freeman in Massachusetts, the following year. He lived for some time in Charlestown, and was one of the first settlers of Woburn, which last town he represented in the General Court, from 1643 to 1671, with the exception of one year, 1648. He was Speaker for a short time in 1655. He was Captain and Town Clerk about thirty years. His work contains one chapter devoted to Gorton, which see in Appendix, No. 16.

Humphrey Atherton was admitted a freeman in Massachusetts, in 1638, probably not long after his arrival in this country. In September following, he was a deputy from Dorchester, and afterwards for Springfield, though he continued to reside at Dorchester. In 1653 he was Speaker, and in the following year, an Assistant. He was frequently employed in negotiations with the Indians. He made large purchases of lands from them, for himself and his associates, within the present State of Rhode-Island, in 1660, which were the occasion of many disputes. He died suddenly, September, 1661, by a fall from his horse.—S.

great with child, forcing them and their children to run deep into the water, to get into the boat for fear of them.* We betaking ourselves to one of our houses, for our defence, they presently appeared in sight. S. Gorton being out of the house, to convey his wife (who was great with child) towards the water side for her escape, espied them about musket shot from the house, the way which they came being full of wood; they were not sooner discerned, but he called unto them, to keep without the distance of musket shot, calling to his friends in the house, also to stand to their arms, for a band of soldiers consisting of English and Indians were in sight; so committing his wife to some of Providence, which came along with them, to convey her to the boat, betook himself to the house with the rest. These our loving neighbors, inhabiting near unto us in that town where Master Williams sat down, being deeply affected with the proceedings of the Massachusetts, coming down unto us along with them, to be eye and ear witnesses how things were carried at our meeting; who instantly urged the Captain and officers, for a parley; who denied to yield or grant any such thing, but professed they would fall upon us presently, unless it might be private betwixt themselves and us, and none else to hear it, professing to make despatch of us in one quarter of an hour's work;† which we understanding, refused to enter in-

* The wife of S. Gorton, and some of her children, she being ready to lie down in child-bed, was so dealt with by the soldiers, the boat hastening off for fear; if one of her sons could not have swimmed, had been left behind her, so was glad to betake himself to the water, though young, to recover the boat.

† They had so animated and encouraged the soldiers, yea, so incensed them against us, that they were loth to entertain speech or parley, though they say in their last writing, they came to examine cases of right and wrong, which could not appear without parley; nay, some of their soldiers, picked out to be at the parley, professed to some of us, when they came to visit us, as we lay in bolts and irons amongst them, coming in the night,

to parley, unless our said neighbors of Providence might be present to witness the passages of it; but at the last, after much affectionate urging, they yielded to a parley; and four of Providence men to be chosen out as witnesses, which we freely consented unto the mutual choice of them, and accordingly we met together; and we demanding of them the end of their coming; they pretended we had done some wrong unto certain of their subjects, as also that we held blasphemous errors, which we must either repent of, or go down to the Massachusetts, to be tried at their Courts, or else they had commission to put us to the sword, and to pay themselves out of our goods, for their charges in coming thither; to which we made answer, we could not yield thereunto, that they that were our professed adversaries should be our judges, we being so far out of all their jurisdictions; but freely tendered our appeal to the Honorable State of England in any thing that could be objected against us, which they peremptorily refused. We then offered to put our case to arbitration by indifferent men, mutually chosen in the country, engaging our goods, our lands, and our persons, to make full satisfaction for any thing that could be brought in or appear against us; which proposition seemed so reasonable, not only in the eyes of the witnesses, but also to the Captain and the rest, that there was a truce agreed upon, until such time as a messenger being dispatched into

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nor daring to see us in the day, professed in these words: When we came first to the ground we were mad to fight, and to fall upon you without speech or parley, but after we saw you, and heard you speak, many of us had rather have been on your side, than for the cause we came, and the Captain seeing some of us discouraged to fight, would not permit us to discourse with any of Providence men, lest they should speak on your behalf; and this we know, that some that did signify unto them any small thing concerning the equity of our cause, the Captain seized on them for prisoners, and kept them in bonds, during the time of their abode there, and much ado to release them, that they had not taken them down into the Massachusetts, to undergo further punishments.

the Massachusetts, might return with the answer of the Governor and Assistants, during the time of which truce, they broke open our houses, and our desks, taking away our writings; killed our cattle for themselves and the Indians, whom they brought with them, to live upon, taking the bedding with other necessaries in our houses, for the soldiers to lie upon, and make use of, not only at that time, but afterwards in their trenches, during the time of their league; assaulting some of our friends, both men, women and children, who only came to see us in that sad time of extremity, hearing there was a truce concluded for a season, endeavoring to cut them off, upon the water, (being in a small vessel) by shooting half a score or a dozen muskets at them, before they could get out of their reach, which they very narrowly escaped; during the time of this truce the men of Providence (unknown to us) sent a letter to the Government of the Massachusetts, to inform them how things had been carried at our meeting, whereof they were eye and ear witnesses.

A true copy of the Letter sent by the men of Providence, chosen to be witnesses of all passages in way of our parley, to the Governor of the Massachusetts, in way of mediation for peace, to prevent countrymen from spilling one another's blood; it is here set down, verbatim, according to the original copy still extant.

Providence, the 2d of the 8th mo. 1643, so called.

Worthy Sir:—Let it not seem absurd, that we whose names are here underwritten, present you with these ensuing lines. We lately hearing read a copy of your writing, directed to Samuel Gorton, and that company, as also some of us being requested by our neighbor Cole, (your subject) and all requested by Samuel Gorton and his company to hear and see the truth of proceedings on both sides, our consciences persuading us, that these desires were reasonable, and for aught we knew, might be a means (if God so

wrought) to prevent the shedding of blood; these things we say considered, may (as before) cause our boldness. We therefore, being filled with grief at such a spectacle, that the English should shed English blood, do desire to acquaint you with what we did observe during that respite, that was condescended to, for a treaty; therefore to proceed, after your commission was read, S. Gorton his company did desire to know in what particulars you did demand satisfaction; the propositions being declared, were four.

First. To get them off the Indians' ground, which your Commissioners said, they had but intruded.

Secondly. For satisfaction about a book, wherein your Commissioners said, were gross things penned.

Thirdly. For satisfaction for wrong done, both to English and Indians, under your subjection.

Fourthly. For charges, which your Commissioners said, they had caused by forcing this army.

Unto the first they answered, that the ground was theirs, and they were the true owners; and that by the same right that you did claim it, it being long before subjected to the Narragansett Sachem, and purchased by them of Miantonomi, and (to take away all color of claim) of Pomham also, and they having quiet possession of the same, until this trouble; and therefore did conceive you had wronged them, by bringing an army to force them from their ground. Your Commissioners pleaded, it was your right, by the Indians subjecting to you, and thereupon were very resolute to take them off by force; which they questioned not, but immediately to perform; the others as resolute, considering, they said, they had bought it, and vowed to stand upon their lawful defence, though to the last drop of their blood, the resolution on both sides being so hot, that we thought immediately the battle would have begun; they did then appeal to the highest Court in Old England, for the trial of their right, which when your Commissioners refused, they did again of-

fer to put to the trial of indifferent judges in this country, which were parties of neither side; and counted it unreasonable, that force should be offered before the cause were tried, which they judged you could not do, being parties in the cause; and promised to stand to the determination of those judges, to the utmost of their estates and persons.

Secondly, being demanded by your Commissioners satisfaction for the book, wherein they declared gross things were penned, they answered, that they would put it, as the former, to be judged by indifferent judges, both the terms and satisfaction.

To the third, for satisfaction for wrong done, both to Indians and English; they answered they would give full satisfaction.

Concerning the fourth, wherein was great expense and charges required; they answered likewise as in the former, that they would pay and give to the utmost satisfaction, if the arbitrators judged, that they were the cause of raising it; and would as fully and freely submit, as to eat and drink: These being, in short, the heads, we leave the more ample relation to your Commissioners. Sir, so fair propositions offered, we hope will work your affections to the utmost end, of preventing blood-spilling: Nay, we hope, if it be but upon the point of honor, rather that you will be losers, than take the utmost; the case we cannot but be sadly affected with, knowing it will be dishonorable to the Lord, if those who profess themselves Christians, should not take the best means for peace; we hope you will not in the least measure take it unkindly for any hint unto you; neither that you will despise Abigail's counsel, for Nabal's churlishness; let the Lord smite them, and his hand be upon them, if they sin against him. If one man sin against another, the Judge shall judge him; but if a man sin against the Lord, who shall intreat for him! 1 Sam. ii. 25. Now their proposition is, for man to judge as that first part of the alleged Scripture doth declare. Some of their wives and

children (if a mournful spectacle might move you) do beg for a serious consideration of their husbands' and fathers' propositions, which if not hearkened unto, were like in man's eye, to be left miserable. We would they were able to write their own grief, which now in pity we have respect unto. Oh, how grievous would it be (we hope to you) if one man should be slain, considering the greatest monarch in the world cannot make a man; especially grievous, seeing they offer terms of peace. Sir, we know not how to end, nor what to say. We must abruptly leave, desiring your wisdom to cover our defects with love, and answer for us, if any shall challenge us.

CHAD BROWN,
THOMAS OLNEY,
WILLIAM FIELD,
WILLIAM WICKENDEN.[1]

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[1] Chad Brown removed to Providence from Massachusetts, in 1636, a short time after Williams. He was pastor of the Baptist Church there, in 1642. He had children, John, who married a Holmes, daughter of the Rev. Obadiah Holmes; Daniel, who married a Herenden; James, Jeremiah and Judah. The last two removed to Rhode-Island. Judah died, 10th of May, 1663.

Thomas Olney, probably came to this country from Hertford, England, as his son Thomas was born there, 1631. After his arrival in this country, he was a member of the Salem Church, from which he was excommunicated for uniting in the errors of Williams. He removed from Salem to Providence, and is the ninth named in Williams's first deed. He was one of the Assistants named in the Charter of Charles II. to the colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in 1663. His will bears date March 21, 1680, and was proved Oct. 17, 1682. His children were Epenetus, who married Mary Whipple; Mary, who married John Whipple; Thomas, afterwards pastor of the Baptist Church at Providence, who married Elizabeth Marsh of Newport; and Lydia, who married Joseph, son of Roger Williams.

William Field, was one of the early settlers of Providence. His house stood a little East of where the Providence Bank now is. It was a garrison house. The Commissioners of the four colonies met at his house in 1677.

Here followeth a true copy of a letter written by the Governor of the Massachusetts, in answer to the men of Providence, of their letter written unto him, in way of mediation for peace; which is here set down, verbatim, the letter being extant under his own hand:

NEIGHBORS OF PROVIDENCE.

I have received a letter subscribed by four of you, whom I hear are not of the confederacy with Gorton, Holden, and the rest of that company, wherein as mediators you intercede between them and us, in the differences now between us; the return of the messenger is so hasty, that I cannot make a full answer to every thing you have mentioned in your letter; only you may rest satisfied with this, that the commission and instructions given to the Commissioners now at Providence was not rashly and inconsiderately drawn up; but by the mature advice of the wisest and godliest amongst us, assembled in a General Court, which I have not power to reverse or alter; and for the justness of the Court's proceedings therein, you may do well to take further notice, that besides the title of land, between the Indians and the English there, there are twelve of the English that have subscribed their names to horrible and detestable blasphemies, against GOD, and all magistracy; who are rather to be judged as blasphemers, (especially if they persist therein) rather than that they should delude us, by winning time, under pretence of arbitration; I doubt not, but you well know, that we have often sent to them, to plead

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William Wickenden was colleague with Chad Brown, in the pastoral charge of the Baptist Church at Providence. He removed from Salem, and was received a purchaser at Providence, before August 20, 1637. He was at one time in New-York, where it is said he preached and was imprisoned for it about four months. He died Feb. 23, 1670. His son William married Eleanor Sheringham of Newport, and his daughter Plain, Samuel, eldest son of Lawrence Wilkinson. He had two other daughters, one of which married a Steere, and the other a Smith.—S.

their title to the land, and to make answer for their blasphemies, and that we lately sent them safe conducts for their coming and returning;* for all which we have received from them nothing but storms, contempt, and revilings, in the worst expressions they could cast them into; so that the promise of protection made by us, to Pomham, &c. the vindication of God's honour, and many reasons concerning our safety, have necessarily put us upon this course with them; notwithstanding which, if any of them will in peaceable manner, repair unto us, under the conduct of our Commissioners, no violence shall be offered to them by our soldiers there, and our justice here; but if they refuse, and offer violence, let the hurt they receive, be upon their own heads; further, (which I had forgotten) where you say their offer of arbitration is fair, you may do well to be better informed, and to know that the bottom of it is easily sounded, which is to win time, to discourage the Indians,† under our subjection, and to give them time and opportunity, to stir up (as much as in them lieth) the other Indians against us;‡ for to whom would they refer their matters? to yourselves whom we know not, but have just cause to fear, in respect of your vicinity unto them, and your now mediation for them; and to those of Rhode-Island, divers of whom we know too well, to refer any matters unto.‖ The best office you can

* Which was only words expressed in their paper formerly sent unto us.

† Fearing lest the true and natural Prince of these their Indian subjects, should shew them their folly in this their subjection, and to win them again unto himself, and thereby leave them without this color and pretence to work out their own ends upon us.

‡ Behold here their guilt, in that they had unjustly drawn, by insinuation, the Indians from their lawful Prince, as also that subtle wrong they did to us, suggesting secretly unto the people, as though there were fear of some combination between the Indians and us, to stir up soldiers by that means to come out against us.

‖ Behold how these men can evade all fair propositions to prosecute and

perform unto them is, to persuade them to attend to their own safety, by yielding to the lawful demand of our Commissioners, from which as I said before, I cannot vary. So I rest Your Loving Neighbor.

JO. WINTHROP.[1]

Boston, 8th mo. 3d, 1643.

Now after the interchange of these letters, between the men of Providence, and the Governor of the Massachusetts,

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bring forth their own spirit; yea, even to the death of their countrymen, if it be but by casting aspersions upon those that hold not just length and breadth in religion with them.

[1] It appears from Sav. Wint. vol. 2d, p. 139, that the Commissioners also wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts, stating Gorton's proposal to submit their differences to arbitrators, "so as some might be of Providence or Aquiday," alleging that they of the Massachusetts "were parties, and so not equal judges." This letter reached the Governor when a committee of the General Court was convened about the news of Miantonomi's death. After consulting with some of the elders, it was agreed, says Winthrop, "that it was neither seasonable nor reasonable, neither safe nor honorable, for us to accept of such a proposition. 1. Because they would never offer us any terms of peace before we had sent our soldiers. 2. Because the ground of it was false, for we were not parties in the case between the Indians and them, but the proper Judges, they being all within our jurisdiction by the Indians and English their own grant. 3. They were no State, but a few fugitives, living without law or government, and so not honorable for us to join with them in such a course. 4. The parties whom they would refer it unto, were such as were rejected by us and all the Governments in the country, and besides not men likely to be equal to us, or able to judge of the cause. 5th. Their blasphemous and reviling writings, &c. were not matters fit to be compounded by arbitrament, but to be purged away only by repentance and public satisfaction, or else by public punishment. And lastly, the commission and instructions being given by the General Court, it was not in our power to alter them."

The reasons given by Governor Winthrop for refusing the propositions of Gorton, are inserted, that it may be seen whether Gorton had not some cause to suspect the impartiality of those who had assumed to be his judges.—S.

which we at the present were ignorant of, when certain days were expired, the messenger sent by the Commissioners into the Massachusetts to acquaint them with our propositions returned; which we perceived by their shooting off of guns at his coming; and the first thing we discerned in them, they sent out and gathered all our cattle together, and took them into their own custody, sending two soldiers unto us to give us notice, that the time of truce was expired; and that our propositions could in no case be accepted or embraced by the Massachusetts. We then desiring to speak with the Captain and the officers, they utterly denied to have any speech with us; but immediately entrenched themselves, and the same day gave fire upon us; whereupon to shew our allegiance to the State of Old England, we hung out the English colours, which they perceiving, shot the more violently against us, shooting the colours many times through and through. Now when the messenger from the Massachusetts returned, coming through the town of Providence, two of the men of Providence came along to Shawomet, to see how things were carried, and what the news was at his return; and however the Commissioners would not speak with us, yet the men of Providence went unto them and had speech with them, whom they warned to come no more unto us, upon their peril, for they were resolved of their course; therefore whoever came near unto us, they would take them for their enemies. For when the Governor and Assistants of the Massachusetts, perceived that the Commissioners had declared their errand unto us in plainer terms than they intended it should have been, they thought, to make the house we were in our grave, was the best way to vindicate the moderation of their equal justice towards us, as plainly appeared by their practice, and course held concerning us.

Here followeth a true copy of the testimony of the two men of Providence, who came to Shawomet at the return

of the messenger out of the Massachusetts, verbatim, extant under their own hands:

We testify, that upon the return of the answer, from the Bay, the Captain refused the former offer of appeal to England, or arbitration in the country, with the said Samuel Gorton and his company; but immediately dissolved the truce, and the same day proceeded to give fire upon them.

RICHARD SCOTT,
WILLIAM HARRIS.[1]

And so continued for divers days together, in their fierce assault. The Sabbath approaching, we imagining they

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[1] Richard Scott was admitted a member of the Boston Church, August 28, 1634. He married a sister of the famous Mrs. Hutchinson, and removed with her from Massachusetts. Winthrop says, his wife "was infected with Anabaptistry," and that Williams "was taken or rather emboldened by her to make open profession thereof." Scott afterwards became a Quaker, and Gov. Hopkins says, the first of that sect in New-England. He was one of the early settlers of Providence. The tradition is, that his wife and daughter, in 1657, were whipped ten lashes in Boston, for visiting a Quaker prisoner there.

William Harris arrived at Salem in 1635. He removed to Providence with Williams, and is the seventh named in William's first deed. On the 24th of January, 1679, he sailed for England on board of the ship Unity of Boston, William Condy, master, as agent of the Pawtuxet purchasers. In the course of this voyage he was taken by a Barbary corsair and carried to Algiers, where he remained in captivity more than a year. He was redeemed at the cost of about $1200, travelled through Spain and France, and arrived in London in 1680, and died the third day after his arrival, at the house of his friend John Stokes. He executed his will at Newport before he sailed for England. That is dated Dec. 4, 1678. The witnesses to it were examined relative to its execution the same day, before John Whipple, Assistant. It was afterwards proved at Providence, Feb. 20, 1682. His children were Andrew, who married Mary Tew of Newport; Toleration, who was killed by the Indians about 1675; Mary, who married Thomas Borden; and Howlong, who married Arthur Fenner.

In the divisions which pervaded the colony at Providence, Harris and Williams were generally the leaders of opposite parties.—S.

would not have continued their assault upon that day, and were very confidant that they would go about no such work upon the night before the Sabbath; being we knew well that they held the Sabbath begins in the evening going before, and that they had no less ground for it than Master Cotton's judgment; as also that it was one of their laws that the breach of the Sabbath is to be punished with death.[1] Now what they may judge the killing of their countrymen causelessly upon that day is, whether to keep or break the Sabbath, we leave to all men to judge.

But contrary to our expectations, early in the morning having prepared their fire-works, they attempted to burn the house wherein we were, seconding their fire with the discharge of above four hundred shot against us, according to the soldiers' account, who afterwards told us how many shots they had made that morning, according to the emptying of their bandaliers; all which time, they told us, Captain Cooke stood behind such a great white oak tree, whom we heard encouraging his soldiers to come on with courage, thinking himself in safety; and so he was, for we discharged not a gun that morning, nor of all the time of their siege; but only two in the night-time at random, to scare them from working their trenches near unto us; for we had concluded to take away the lives of none of our countrymen, unless they offered to enter violently upon us, which we only fitted ourselves to prevent such assaults, or else that we were forced out upon them by the firing of our house; only we perceived our words to be shot good enough to keep them aloof. For we called cheerfully upon the Captain to come on and bring up his men; for he should find us very cheerful spirits to deal with; and that we would make him as

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[1] In the body of laws drawn up by the Rev. Mr. Cotton, and printed in London in 1642, is the following:

"Profaning the Lord's day in a careless and scornful neglect or contempt thereof, to be punished with death."—S.

good a Sabbath-day's breakfast, as he ever had in his life; our care was only to quench the fire which they had laid to the wall before we were aware; but we saw the wind take the flame so from the wall, that it kindled not upon the house. When the day began to break, Captain Cooke called to the soldiers, to go on with a fresh assault; but we heard some of his soldiers, deny to come on again, being the fire took not; and the day beginning to be light, they thought we might shoot from the house at some certainty; we called on the Captain to animate his soldiers, for we understood (we told him) his chariot wheels began to drive very heavy, and were in danger to fall off, and that was all the violence we offered to our countrymen, in this their so eager an assault, though we heard the Captain in the beginning of it, give strict charge to the soldiers, that they should not let one escape alive, but to put all to the sword, thinking the fire would have taken, and so we have been a prey for them: But however, we discharged not a piece against them, being loth to spill the blood of our countrymen, though to the hazard of our own lives; yet were we well provided and could easily have done them much hurt; only stood upon our defence, so as they durst not make entry upon us. After which assaults, they sent back into the Massachusetts for more aid; but in the mean time, another parley was procured, wherein we consented to go down into the Massachusetts upon composition, to prevent the spilling of blood, which we could no longer refrain in the defence of ourselves, they having approached so near unto us; the condition whereof was this, that we should go along with them as free men and neighbors, as though such passages had never been betwixt us; which the Captain and his company consenting unto, beat up the drum and gathered his soldiers together, seeming joyful that things were so concluded; whereupon the Captain desired to see our house; which request we lovingly embraced, thinking he intended

to refresh himself and his soldiers with such provisions as we had, before we set out upon our journey towards the Massachusetts; but no sooner was he come into the house, but contrary to the articles of our agreement, he seized upon our arms, using us as captives, and presently carried us away, not suffering us to dispose of any of our goods, that were in or about our houses, having not so much as a servant left behind, and so left them all as pillage to the Indians;* the Captain giving charge unto the soldiers that if any of us spake a word in our journey to give any of them discontent, that they should presently knock us down; and if they saw any of us step aside, out of the place designed unto us, that they should run us through, and he would bear them out, in that their action. And withal they drove away our cattle into the Massachusetts, dividing and disposing of them amongst themselves; only some of them they had disposed of to such of their subjects, as lived near unto us, who had been instruments and assistants unto them, to bring about and effect this work. The number of cattle which they took from us, was four-score head, or thereabouts, besides swine and goats which they and the Indians lived upon during the time of their siege, also breaking violently into our houses, taking away our corn, with other provisions provided for our families to live upon.

Here followeth another testimony, of divers of the men of Providence, given under their hands, set down here, verbatim, for the clearing of these matters; which writing is extant:

PROVIDENCE, this present January the 30th, 1644.

We, whose names are here underwritten, inhabitants of the town of Providence, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-

* Which they had promised to do as they came on the way towards us, to encourage the Indians to come with them against us; in the hearing of some of our friends.

England, being requested by Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, John Wickes and John Warner, with divers others of our countrymen, to testify what we know concerning their late sufferings from the Bay of the Massachusetts, we take ourselves bound in conscience, to answer their request, and in a word of truth impartially to witness.

First. That our countrymen aforesaid, were peaceably possessed of a plantation, at Shawomet, amongst the natives, some ten or a dozen miles beyond this town of Providence.

Secondly. That the Bay of Massachusetts sent up through this town of Providence, one Captain Cooke and his company, in warlike manner; who actually assaulted and besieged our foresaid countrymen, who stood upon their own defence.

Thirdly. That the wives and children of our foresaid countrymen, upon these hostile courses, were affrighted, and scattered in great extremities, and divers since are dead.

Fourthly. The said Captain Cooke and his company carried captive our foresaid countrymen through this town of Providence, to the Bay of Massachusetts.

Fifthly. Their goods, cattle, houses and plantations were seized upon by the foresaid Captain, and his company; the cattle were part killed by the soldiers, and the rest by agents from the Bay, disposed of, and driven away to the said Bay of Massachusetts.

RICHARD SCOTT,	WILLIAM BURROWS,
WILLIAM HARRIS,	JOSHUA WINSOR,
WILLIAM FIELD,	JOHN FIELD,
STUKELY WESTCOTT,	THOMAS ANGELL,
HUGH BEWITT,	WILLIAM REYNOLDS,
THOMAS HARRIS,	ADAM GOODWIN.[1]

[1] Stukely Westcott removed to Providence, in April, 1638, and was the first named in Williams's first deed. His daughter Damaris, married Bene-

Now, as we passed along on the way to the Massachusetts, which was about three score or three score and ten miles, in the common account of men, from our plantations

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dict Arnold. His sons were Jeremiah, William, Samuel, Josiah, Benjamin and Stukely. He held to entire and rigid separation from the Church of England, and denied the Churches of Massachusetts to be true Churches; for which the Church at Salem passed "the great censure" on him, as early as the first of July, 1639. Before this he and his wife, had been rebaptized by Williams.

Hugh Bewitt, in Dec. 1640, was banished from Massachusetts. He was found "guilty of heresy, and that his person and errors are dangerous for the infection of others." He was ordered for this "to be gone out of our jurisdiction by the 24th inst. upon pain of death, and not to return upon pain of being hanged." He removed to Providence, where he was received a purchaser. On his second removal, which was shortly after, he sold his purchase right to some persons residing in Boston.

Thomas Harris was received a purchaser of Providence previous to August 20, 1637. He was brother to William Harris. He left a will, which was proved July 20, 1686. He had children, Thomas, who married Phebe Brown, Richard, Nicholas, William, Henry, Elethan, who married Nathaniel Brown, Joab, Amity, who married a Morse, Mary, who married a Bernon, and Job.

William Burrows. The time of his settlement in Providence, I have not been able to ascertain. He was alive in 1663, when a subscription was opened for his relief.

Joshua Winsor was received a purchaser at Providence, before Aug. 20, 1637. He came from the borough of Windsor, England. He had one son Samuel, and three daughters, Sarah, Susan and Mary. Samuel married Mercy Waterman, widow of Resolved Waterman, and daughter of Roger Williams. Five of the descendants of Samuel, all of the name of Winsor, were settled Baptist ministers within the State of Rhode-Island.

John Field removed from Bridgewater to Providence, soon after its settlement.

Thomas Angell came originally from London. According to one tradition, he crossed the Seekonk river in the first canoe with Williams, whose apprentice or servant he then was. Another tradition makes him the apprentice of Richard Waterman. He died before Sept. 18, 1694; as his

at Shawomet, after they were come into the towns within their own jurisdictions, in some towns their minister which the soldiers brought along with them against us, gathered the people together, in the open streets, went to prayers, that the people might take notice, what they had done, was done in a holy manner, and in the name of the Lord; and when they came to Dorchester, there being many people gathered together, with divers of their ministers, as Master Cotton and Master Mather,[1] &c. there they placed us at their pleasure, as they thought fit to have us stand, and made vollies of shot, over our heads in sign of victory;* and when we were come to Boston, and brought before the Governor's door, the soldiers placing themselves and us as they thought fit and orderly, the Governor coming forth, walking throughout all the compani of soldiers, blessed them; the word which he used as he still passed along, was this; God bless you, and prosper you—God bless and prosper you.† When this was done, we were brought into the

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will was proved on that day. His children were John, James, Amphyllis, Mary, Deborah, Alice and Margery.

William Reynolds was received a purchaser of Providence, before August 20, 1637.

Of Adam Goodwin I can find no traces whatever, except that he was one of the early settlers of Providence.—S.

[1] Probably Richard Mather, third minister of Dorchester. He came to New-England in 1635, and was settled over that Church, Aug. 23, 1636. He died April 22, 1669, aged 73 years.—S.

* A great triumph for a whole country, to carry away eleven men (and that upon fair composition also, if they had kept touch with us; for one of us, that is, Sampson Shotton, was dead before by hardship, which some of their spirit had put upon him;) and but ten of us that handled arms.

† We thought he did it to imitate Melchisedek, coming out to bless Abraham, when he came from the slaughter of the Kings, in the rescue of Lot, he did it so gravely and solemnly, only the Captain wanted the spirit of Abraham for all his good success, yet we thought he was not incapable to communicate in that prayer or blessing of the Governor, for his errand to

Governor's hall, before the Governor, Mr John Winthrop, unto whom we complained, how the Captain had used us, contrary to our articles: but he told us whatever the Captain might express unto us, his intent was to have us as captives, and their captives now we were; and unto the common jail we must go, without either bail or mainprize; where we continued until the Court sat, and the country coming in on every side to understand the cause why they had so proceeded against us; and they laboring to give the country satisfaction, rehearsed in the ears of the people, divers gross opinions, which they had compiled together, out of our writing, which we abhorred; as that, we should deny the human nature of Christ, which they gathered from this, that we professed his death to be effectual to the fathers, before the time of his incarnation in the womb of the Virgin; also, that we denied all the Churches of Jesus Christ, because we could not join with them in that way of church order, which they had established amongst them; again, that we denied all the holy ordinances of Christ, because we could not join with them in their way of administration; as also, that we denied all civil magistracy, because we could not yield to their authority, to be exercised in those parts where we lived, (that place being above four and twenty miles out of their bounds) which we should not once have questioned, if we had been within the compass of their jurisdiction; as it well appeared by our carriage, all the time we were amongst them; as also by our sundry appeals unto this State, which have been denied unto us; yea, and since that great favor granted, and given unto that people of Providence Plantations, in a late charter of civil government[1] from this State, our humble respects unto all such

us, was to utter and exercise the spirit of the Government, in his commission made manifest.

[1] A copy of this charter may be found in Appendix, No. 17.—S.

authority hath been made manifest to all men; not only in our unanimous and joyful embracing of it, but also some of us by the general vote of the whole colony, have been chosen into the place of judicature for the orderly execution of the authority of the charter; yea, some of us that are now here present at the publication hereof. Now when we desired liberty to speak in the Court, to answer to such things as were alleged and read in the ears of the people, such as is above, with divers more to the number of about six and twenty, all drawn from our writing formerly mentioned in this treatise, we denied that we either held, or had written any such thing; and desired our writing might be read in open Court, that it might appear what was in it; which was denied unto us, only their charges must appear, by the affirmation of the Bench; for no other man or woman appeared to testify a word against us, and when we continued to deny the constructions they had given of our writings, and abstracted from them, denying them to be ours, we were commanded silence; Master Thomas Dudley, one of the Bench, standing up, charging us to be silent; and told us if we were not, they would lay irons upon our legs and upon our hands and also upon our necks; whereupon the Court for that time was dissolved, no man objecting against us in the least, in any wrong or injury betwixt man and man; neither at that time, nor in any time of all our trial amongst them. After which, they brought us forth, divers times, before their Court, which then sat more privately in a chamber, the door being kept very carefully, that none should enter, but only whom they thought fit to permit; their Court then consisting of about a dozen magistrates, and about forty deputies, chosen out of several towns as were thought fit, and many of their ministers usually present with them to assist in the work; they then questioned and examined us apart, to the uttermost they could, to get some matter against us from our own mouths, and also usually sending

their agents, as elders* and members of their Churches,† unto us in prison, frequently putting questions unto us to get

* Old Mr. Ward, [1] once lecturer at St. Michael's, in Cornhill, London, came to the prison window, and called to him, one of our society, namely Richard Carder, who had once lived near together in Essex. Mr. Ward seemed to be much affected, being a man knows how to put himself into passion, desired the said Richard, that if he had done or said anything that he could with good conscience renounce, he desired him to recant it, and he hoped the Court would be very merciful; and saith he, it shall be no disparagement unto you; for here is our reverend elder, Mr. Cotton, [2] who ordinarily preacheth that publicly one year, that the next year he publicly repents of, and shews himself very sorrowful for it to the congregation; so that (saith he) it will be no disgrace for you to recant in such a case.

† Usually coming to us into the prison, many of them together. As also when we were put apart in the time of our examination, one of the members of the Church of Boston, telling some of us in his own house, that he was persuaded that he did not worship the true God, for, saith he, then he not have permitted you to be brought down from your own plantations amongst us; for, saith he, I am persuaded that our Churches shall not be overcome by any people that should come out against them; his wife standing by, being an ingenious woman, made answer to our content before we could speak; Husband, (saith she) pray do not boast before the victory be known, it may be the battle is not yet ended.

[1] Probably Rev. Nathaniel Ward, first minister of Ipswich, well known as the author of "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam." He was born at Haverhill, England, 1570, and was educated at Cambridge. He came to this country in June, 1634. In 1647 he returned to England, and died there in 1653.—S.

[2] John Cotton was second minister of the Church at Boston, and colleague with Wilson. He arrived in this country in Sept. 1633, and died in 1652, aged 67. His influence was by no means confined to his Church, nor to the religious concerns of the colony. His advice was sought on every great occasion, even by the General Court, and in these days, it will perhaps be thought, he was too eager to give it, and too anxious to have it followed. It is not unlikely we are in part indebted to the imagination of the Simple Cobbler of Agawam for this anecdote. If he had reference to Cotton's conduct in the Antinomian controversy, there was some color, at least, for the remark.—S.

occasion against us, thus continuing for the space of two or three weeks together, during which time Master Willson[1] ordinarily in his sermons, pressed the magistrates and the people to take away our lives, from that text of the King of Israel, letting Benhaded, go; applying it unto them; that if they let us escape with life, their life should then go for our life, and their people for our people, urging them from that of Samuel and Agag, to hew and cut us in pieces. Master Cotton, also in his sermons, encouraged the people in the lawfulness of their dealings with us, from that in the Revelations, where it is said, The kingdoms of this world are the kingdoms of the Lord and his Christ's; whence he observed, that they being the kingdom of Christ, they were bound to go out against all people, to subdue all such unto themselves as are weaker than they, otherwise they might stay at home within themselves, and serve God with all their hearts; but they could not serve him with all their might, unless they went out to subdue others, and so would be guilty of the breach of that command, viz. Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God, with all thy strength. Now after our many consultations, and debating of matters with the magistrates and ministers, not only in the Court, sometimes one of us answering and declaring of his mind, only in matters of religion, a whole day together, yea, part by candle light, besides all their more private conferences in the prison, and at other houses where we were put apart, in custody one from another, in the time of our examination; at the last the Court sent for S. Gorton out of prison, to appear before them; and when he came before them, the Governor told him he heard there was exception taken, that there

[1] John Wilson was the first minister of the Church at Boston. He was born in Windsor, 1588. He came to New-England with Governor Winthrop, in 1630, from Sudbury, England, where he had been settled. He died August 7, 1667.—S.

should be a rumor that it was for some civil things they had so proceeded against us, and yet no man appeared to object the least against us, in any civil respect; unto which the Governor himself gave answer (not expecting an answer from Gorton) that they had set their subjects, the Indians, in their own land, and that was all they looked after in that respect, but they never questioned in public, whether it was right or wrong to take it from us, only had privately called one of us, which was one of the interpreters, at the buying of it, and the Indians their subjects together, to see what could be said in it, and found the Indians, by their own confession, to make things so clear on our behalf, that they thought it not fit to bring it into public scanning of the matter. The Governor then told Gorton, he was now to answer some things that should be propounded unto him, upon his life, for it was upon his life that now he was to answer; unto which Gorton made answer, that he was to shew unto them all dutiful subjection that might be, being under the Government of their jurisdiction, as he had done since his coming amongst them; to give them their due honour and respect to the utmost, which he could not do, but as he looked upon them with relation unto the State of Old England; by virtue of which power, they sat here as executioners of justice, unless he looked at them, and carried himself towards them as they had respect unto that State (from whom what power they had was derived) else he could not give them their due honor and respect; for it could no way appear to be such, but as it was derived from that noble State of Old England; and therefore, however he had according to what they had demanded, for the clearing of any thing, been free, to answer unto them: So now if it was his life that they would now put him upon, he did as freely, and in the presence of them all, appeal to the State of Old England for his trial in that point, by virtue of which State only he conceived they sat there as ministers of jus-

tice, and therefore might not deny unto him his just appeal, (understanding that the denial of an appeal must either presuppose a superiority in them that deny it, or an equality at the least, with the State appealed unto;) unto which the Governor made answer, as also Master John Endicott, Deputy Governor,[1] and bade Gorton never dream or think of any such thing; for no appeal should be granted unto him.

Now the ministers and magistrates, having weighed better our writings, our examinations in Court, answers to questions more privately, with anything spoken in the prison amongst ourselves, which daily ear was lent unto, or our carriage and demeanor in any respect; they had now summed up, and drawn all into four questions, which were now to be answered, in case of life and death.

The questions were these that here follow, not a word varying in any one of them:

1. Whether the Fathers, who died before Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved only by the blood which he shed, and the death which he suffered after his incarnation!

2. Whether the only price of our redemption, were not

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[1] Governor Endicott came to New-England in 1628, from Dorchester, England. He bore the offices of Colonel, Assistant, Deputy Governor and Governor of Massachusetts, with honor to himself and fidelity to the colony, for a great number of years. His zeal against Popery led him in 1635, to deface the cross in the colors of the military company in Salem. For this he was disabled from holding any public office for one year. Yet, when it is considered that in the very next year, after solemn consultation, only two of the Council, would consent to spread the King's colors even at the fort, on account of the cross in them, it may be questioned, whether Gov. Endicott's assent to Roger Williams's heretical opinions had not some influence in subjecting him to that censure. It is proper to state, that according to Winthrop, Governor Endicott afterwards "gave place to the truth," in respect to Williams's opinions. He died in 1665, aged 76.—S.

the death of Christ upon the cross, with the rest of his sufferings and obediences in the time of his life here, after he was born of the Virgin Mary!

3. Who is that God whom he thinks we serve?

4. What he means, when he saith, We worship the star of our god Remphan, Chion, Moloch?

To these four questions the Court told Gorton he must answer speedily, upon life and death, and that under his hand-writing; he told them he was not willing to answer in anything, but as before he had done; they told him he must give in speedy answer, under his hand-writing; he asked what time he must have for the answer of them; they told him a quarter of an hour; he told them he could answer them in so short a time, but he knew not whether it could give them satisfaction; for it was as much as for a man to describe Jesus Christ what he is, and the way of Anti-christ also, which might be done in few words, but not to be clear to every man; for a man may describe the whole world in these words; In the beginning God created heaven and earth, and the earth was without form and void and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; all the whole work of creation is in this mass or heap; but to set out the glory and beauty that comes out of this, needs many phrases to express it; ever so it is in the description of the Son of God, Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin, it may be done in few words; but to lay out the nature, benefits and glory of it, no small speech or time can serve to express; and therefore desired in word (as before he had manifested his mind unto them) so he might give that present answer which God gave unto him in this point also; but they told him, it must be done in writing, and so commanded the jailor to convey him to another room, to despatch the same; but as he was going out from them, they called unto him, and told him he should have the liberty of half an hour's time to perform it in;

when he was come into another room, pen, ink, and paper being brought unto him; as he was going to write, word was sent from the Court, that if it was brought in, on the second day in the morning, it should suffice; for the Court considering of it, that many of them had far home, and it being the day of preparation for the Sabbath, (for it was now Saturday in the afternoon) and they thought not fit to sit any longer; so Gorton was conveyed again into the prison, to the rest of his friends; who continued cheerfully together, all the Sabbath-day, as they had done before in the prison; only some part of those days, they brought us forth unto their congregations, to hear their sermons, of occido and occidio; which was meat not to be digested, but only by the heart or stomach of an ostrich: but upon the Monday morning, Gorton took pen and ink, and wrote in answer to every one of the four questions given unto him, as here followeth:

This is a true copy of answers, given to the Court of the Massachusetts, to the four questions, which they required to be answered in writing, upon life and death, in case of blasphemy, which we were charged with, and sentence so far passed, as to take away our lives by the sword, in case of not disclaiming of our religion, or erroneous opinions, as they were pleased to call them; the answers are truly set down, verbatim.

To the first question we answer affimatively, (only assuming the liberty of our explanation) namely: The Fathers who died before Christ was born of the Virgin Mary, were justified and saved, only by the blood which he shed and the death which he suffered,* in and after his Incarna-

* That in this answer there is a word added to their question which was done of purpose (knowing how they looked) to regulate them, if it were possible, as it was declared unto them, in the first reading of the answer, how they fell short in it, which they yielded unto; they say the death which he suffered (after) his incarnation, the answer saith, (in) and after his In-

tion, (that is on this wise; that the guilt and stain of man is not, but with respect unto the Holy word of God, the

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carnation. For to speak of the sufferings of Christ, after his incarnation, without respect unto that which was before, we may as well speak of his sufferings before his incarnation, without respect to that which is after; for the cross of Christ is not, but with respect both to human nature and divine, and we cannot know the two natures in Christ, what they are distinctly in themselves, to give each its proper due, and what they are jointly united in one, no otherwise, but as they are considered in the very act of incarnation, in which appears the sufferer, and that which is suffered, the sufferer is the Son of God, made man; the Creator becomes a creature; the thing suffered is to be made a curse; that is to be made such a thing as is in itself by nature accursed, and so Christ was made a curse; the sufferings of Christ then, and the shedding of his blood (as he is known after the spirit) are properly in that one act of his incarnation, which is the proper act of the humiliation of the Son of God; so that to speak of his sufferings after his incarnation, you may as well speak of his sufferings before his incarnation, for it is no suffering of Christ, but with respect both to the one, and the other, and only in the act of incarnation they are made one; and to speak of the sufferings of Christ visibly in his human nature, in the days of Herod, to be the proper sufferings of the Son of God, any further, but as a true doctrine, as in all other holy writ, to teach us that that suffering is in the act of his incarnation, you may as well speak of sufferings of Christ invisibly before that act of his incarnation, for the cross of Christ is not but with respect both to divine and human nature; nor can it be said to be in time, no more than it may be said to be before all time; for the humiliation of the Son of God, admits not of any bounds or limits, for then were it not of infinite value; and if not of infinite value and virtue, then not the humiliation of the Son of God, nor could it be said to be the blood of God, as the Apostle calls it; so that as he himself is not, but as the first and the last become one, even so his sufferings are not, but in that one act, of the curse and blessing being made one. This being premised, which was signified unto them by word of mouth, the answer runs clear, to understand Christ according to the Spirit; otherwise a man may carnalize the answer unto himself, as he knows Christ after the flesh, as the world doth the whole word of God, so also the seed of Abraham, is to be understood as Abraham himself is; Abraham is the father of Christ, as in the genealogy it appears; so saith David in the person of Christ, our father trusted in thee, meaning Abraham for one, and

disobedience whereof, by eating the forbidden fruit, breeds an infinite distance between God and his own work, without the least defect or blame to be found or imputed unto the word of God, but the sole defect and blame is in the creature, even in man himself, yet could he in no case be so miserable, but with respect unto the holy word; even so the justification and salvation of the Fathers, was by the holy word of God, not but with respect and relation unto the seed of Abraham, and the son of David, (conceived and born of the Virgin Mary) in whom they were justified and saved, and yet no virtue nor power arising out of any thing that is human; man therefore is a sinner of infinite guilt, with respect unto that word, which was before all time, and no fault to be found in the word at all; the word of God is a Saviour of infinite value, with respect unto the seed of the Virgin Mary, born, suffering, dying, and rising again in the fulness of time; and yet no virtue in that seed at all unto whom all the prophets bear witness, having an eye unto him in all their holy writings, and the faith of the Fathers comprehending Christ, both in the one, and in the other respect, were justified and saved by him alone, his death

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Christ also is the father of Abraham, therefore he is called the Everlasting Father; and Christ himself saith, Before Abraham was, I am; such also is the seed of Abraham, it produces and brings forth the Son of God, and the Son of God produceth and brings forth it; so it is with the Virgin, she is the mother that gives form and being to Jesus Christ; he also gives form and being unto her; therefore she calls him her Lord and Saviour; the woman brings forth the man, a Virgin conceives and bears a Son; the man brings forth the woman, made of a rib, out of his innocent side; so that the man is not without the woman, nor the woman without the man, in the Lord; these two being separated, the contract is broken, the divorce is made, and not being rightly united, the word is adulterated, we are in our sin. The mystery of this answer then lies in this, (which Pharisees understand not) if Christ be the Virgin Mary's son, conceived in her womb, and born of her, how doth the Virgin Mary, in spirit, call him her Lord, God and Saviour?

being real and actual unto faith, God having the same co-existence with the creature in all ages, though the creature cannot have the same with him in but time.

To the second question, depending upon, or rather involved in the former, we answer, Man's rejection of the word of God, being his sin and separation from God, is the only forfeiture of himself, which could not be, but with respect unto the word of eternity; even so God's righteousness revealed by taking man into unity with himself, is the only price of our redemption, with respect unto the death of Christ upon the cross, with the rest of his sufferings and obedience, from the time of his incarnation, in the womb of the Virgin Mary, to his ascension into Heaven, without which there is no price of our redemption.

To the third question, who we think that God is, that men serve, that are not of the faith abovesaid: we answer, that all men's hearts are awed (by the true God) to bow in worship: therefore, when the Apostle looking upon the inscription upon the altar at Athens, it is said, he beheld their devotion, (or as the word is) the God which they worshipped, though ignorantly, yet it was he only that he declared unto them: So the Apostle James, Thou believest that there is one God, thou doest well, the devils also believe and tremble.

The fourth question, therefore, is the explanation of the third, namely, what we mean by Moloch and the star of that god Remphan; to which we answer, that the Scripture alluded unto, makes difference between those gainsayers of the Fathers which fell in the wilderness, and those of the true seed, that gave faithful testimony unto the Oracle of God; the rebels of the Sons of Levi, would not take up, nor bear the Ark of God, as their duty was, nor give the light and lustre of a star in the tabernacle, when it was pitched, (for the seven stars are the seven Angels:) But as they had the power of a worldly ruler, or Governor, to defend

them in their work, and to subdue all that were not of their mind under them, therefore they took up the tabernacle of Moloch, or bore the booth of the King, and gave the light of Remphan, (alluding unto Raphal, who in David's days had four sons, were mighty giants, warring only by the strength of the arm of flesh) so that they would give testimony unto the holy word of God; but as they had a king set over them, besides Moses to defend them, when as a greater than Moses was there. And in this they turned back in their hearts unto Egypt, looking unto the way of Pharoah, that would subdue all that were not of his own way, and be a defence unto his wise men, in whatever they wrought; but the faithful seed of Abraham had the tabernacle of witness, or witnessed unto the tabernacle, even in the wilderness, where there was no wordly Governor to defend them, but all came out against them, Ammon and Amalek, Balak, Ogg, and Sihon, and the rest; in the which condition Stephen perceived himself, when he witnessed unto the word of truth, in alleging that place of the prophet.

SAMUEL GORTON.

Upon the finishing of these answers, on the Monday morning, the Court sent for S. Gorton to come before them; and when he was come, the Governor asked him, whether he had brought in his answer to the questions propounded unto him (at their last sitting) in writing: he answered, he had brought them; then the Governor asked him, whether he had put his hand unto them: he answered he had not, not thinking it would be required, else he had done it: The Governor called for pen and ink, and caused him to put his hand unto them, and then demanded them of him. Gorton desired he might have liberty to read them first in the Court, that he might pronounce the phrases and words according to the true meaning and intent; having had experience of wrong done, in reading (in way of pronunciation of things not plainly) before, to the giving of true intelligence to the

hearers. When the answers were read in the audience of the Court, the Court paused, and no man said anything unto them, only bade Gorton withdraw, which being done, they had some consultation among themselves, and shortly after called for Gorton to be brought in again: Master Saltingstone[1] found fault, that it was written in the answer, what is the star of (that) god Remphan, whereas it was in the writing, (your god Remphan,) Gorton answered, the phrase was only changed for modesty; for indeed, saith he, it is the phrase of the Apostle, Your god Remphan; and so it rested, to clear that scruple. The Governor told Gorton, that they were one with him, in those answers; for they held as he did; Gorton answered, he was very glad of it, for he loved not differences and divisions amongst men. The Governor then asked him whether he would retract the writing that was formerly written unto them; Gorton answered, that nothing was written before, but would suit and agree with these answers; so that if there was cause to retract one, there was cause to retract all; the Governor said no: these answers they could agree with him in, but not in the former writing. Whereupon Master Dudley stood up, seeming to be much moved, and said he never would consent to it whilst he lived, that they were one with him in those answers; the Governor then asked Gorton, what faith was: to which he answered, that was nothing that concerned what they had formerly written, and that he and the rest had only undertaken to answer to anything that was in their writing; the Governor told him he was bound, and ought to be ready to give an answer to any that should ask him a question of the hope that is in him. Gorton made answer,

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[1] So in both editions. Probably Richard Saltonstall, then one of the Assistants, is here alluded to. He came to New-England in 1630. He held the office of Assistant, a number of years. In 1680 he returned to England where he died in 1694, aged 84 years.—S.

that the definition which the Apostle gives of faith, was sufficient, as he thought, to give any man satisfaction; he asked him what that was: he told him it was this, that faith is the hypostasis or substance of things that are hoped for, and the evidence (or argument demonstrative) of things that are not seen, nor demonstrated at all. The Governor told him that was true, but he could say more of faith than so; Gorton told him, it gave him satisfaction, and being another point than they had had to deal about, since their coming amongst them, and being no question produced from former writings, desired to be spared from any further answer than the plain words of the Apostle; whereupon Master Broadstreet[1] made answer, that he thought it was not fit to put him upon any new questions, unless he was free to speak unto them: and so they dismissed him from the Court to the prison again.

Shortly after this, there was a day appointed, wherein we were to receive our sentence from the Court, which was to be given in the afternoon; and in the forenoon, Master Cotton preached, having gathered up the minds of the people, in what they had observed, and perceiving the people took notice, that in what we dissented from them, was out of tenderness of conscience, and were ready to render a reason and ground for what we held and practised, and divers such like things; to which he answered, that if we had done it out of ignorance, then there had been hopes of regaining us; but if out of tenderness of conscience, and able to render reason for what we did, (and other things of like nature) then were we ripened for death, urging them to agree together, and consent in one thing; that so it might

[1] Simon Bradstreet, the person here alluded to, was at that time one of the Assistants. He was born in March, 1603—came to this country in 1630, and died at Salem, in 1697. He held the offices of Assistant, Secretary of the colony, Deputy Governor, and Governor.—S.

be, else would not the Angels carry their souls to Heaven; for he was then speaking of the office of the Angels in that point. And when by all their examinations in Court, interrogatories put upon us in prison, and public preaching, they could find nothing against us for the transgressing of any of their laws, they then proceeded to cast a lot for our lives, putting it to the major vote of the Court, whether we should live or die; which was so ordered by the Providence of God, that the number of two votes carried it on our side; and whereas both by law, equity, and act of Providence, they ought to have set us forthwith at liberty; yet notwithstanding, they proceeded further to censure, namely, confined us to several towns, and to wear bolts and irons, and to work for our livings, though it was in the extremity of winter, and not to speak of any of those things, which they had dealt with us about, and all this during the pleasure of the Court, and that upon pain of death.

Here followeth a true copy of the Censure and of the Charge, as it was given unto us in writing by the Court; being extant and here set down, verbatim, as it was given to Samuel Gorton, the rest being the same, but only the change of the names.

FOR SAMUEL GORTON.

It is ordered that Samuel Gorton shall be confined to Charlestown, there to be set on work, and to wear such bolts or irons, as may hinder his escape, and so to continue during the pleasure of the Court; provided, that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the meantime either by speech or writing, publish, declare, or maintain, any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies, wherewith he hath been charged by the General Court, contained in either of the two* Books sent unto us by him or by Randall Holden;

* Whereas they name two books written unto them, there was another

or shall reproach or reprove the Churches of our Lord Jesus Christ in these United Colonies, or the civil government, or the publick ordinances of God therein, (unless it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any elder, or with any other licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants) that immediately upon accusation of any such writing or speech, he shall by such Assistant, to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there to be tried by a Jury, whether he hath so spoken or written; and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death, and executed.

Per. Cur.

INCREASE NOWELL, Secret.

Dated the 3d of the 9th mo. 1643.

A COPY OF THE CHARGE.

Samuel Gorton, being convict as a blasphemous enemy to the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and all his holy ordinances, and also to all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction, as appeareth by writings and speeches.[1]

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writing[2] sent unto them by us, but it was no ground of any of their proceedings against us, therefore we thought it not fit to bring it into this Treatise, for they had concluded upon what they would do unto us, and were gone out for execution, before that writing came unto them; for it only met the soldiers on the way towards us, with commission to put us to the sword; we shall desire to publish it, by itself, for we are willing to have it known, and we made answer to any thing in it, they could seem to object, when we were amongst them. The Massachusetts promised the people that however they might not hear our writings read then among them, yet they should see them shortly in print, but they put us to the labour and cost of it, else they cannot be content to have them lie buried, but render them and their dealings with us, in all places where they come, to be other things, than indeed they are.

[2] This "other writing" as it is called, may be found in Appendix No. 18—S.

[1] The charge and censure passed on Richard Carder, is still extant, and in

This charge being laid upon us at the bar, before we heard of the censure, (though they came, as above, in writing to us, the Governor asked us, whether we bowed under it, and whether we would retract; we answered and told them (as in the presence of God) that the charge neither bowed nor touched us at all; for we were free, and far from being guilty of any such things; and for our retraction, we told them, we came not there to deny our Religion, in any point of it, but to testify and bear witness unto it; then did they read our censure for our confinement, as is above said; and when the bolts and chains were made ready, they put them upon us, in the prison at Boston, that so we might travel in them to the several Towns to which we were confined, some of us having fifteen miles, and some thirty to go from Boston, only we were to stay till Master Cotton, his Lecture day, and then were all brought to the congregation, in that our iron furniture for the credit of the sanctuary, which had set the sword on work to such good purpose; and after that were, with all speed, sent away, yea, some of us among the people that went from the Lecture, that so we might be a spectacle unto them. [1]

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the possession of the R. I. Historical Society.—"This charge," says the author of Sagitarius' Letters, "brings to our memory, a transaction that happened several years ago, in the Island of Jamaica. A Scotch officer, with several others of his corps, engaged in a billiard match with some Jews. The children of Israel, it seems, were much too expert at that game, for the Caledonian and his companions. The latter, after having lost some money, mustered their whole joint stock, and staked it against the sons of circumcision; the game was played; the Scot lost; but he swept the stakes into his hat, drew his sword, and, protected by his friends, retired, calling out, 'D—n yere sauls, ye scoundrels, yere a' enemies to the Lord Jesus Christ."—S.

[1] In Appendix, No. 19, I have copied Gov. Winthrop's account of the proceedings of Massachusetts towards Gorton and his company.

It would seem from Gorton's statement, that all the Shawomet purchasers, except Shotton, were taken by Capt. Cooke and carried by him to Bos-

In which condition we continued a whole winter season; in which time their Ministers stirred up the people, in their public sermons, to famish us to death, out of that place of

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ton. Winthrop, as copied in Appendix, No. 19, says nine were brought in by Cooke. He afterwards says, seven were sentenced to be confined to diferent towns. Three other persons were taken at the house with the seven, two of whom were dismissed on a small ransom, and the third freely. Neither of these had signed the letters. A fourth was sentenced to remain at Watertown during the pleasure of the Court. Three escaped from the house, two of whom being sent for, came in, one of whom was discharged freely; because his hand was not to the letters. The other was sent home, on his own bond to appear at the next Court.

All the purchasers of Shawomet signed the first letter, those therefore who were discharged because they had not signed "the letters," were not of the Shawomet purchasers.

The seven who were confined to the several towns were Gorton, Wickes, Holden, Potter, Carder, Weston and Warner. Waddle was enjoined to remain at Watertown. The three who escaped from the house, were Waterman, Power and Greene. Power came in and denied that he set his hand to the letters, and was dismissed; Waterman became bound to appear at the next Court, and Greene was the one who escaped entirely. [See in Appendix, No. 6. the warrant issued against Waterman, Power, and Greene and his son. Dated, October 20, 1643, after the return of Captain Cooke and his company, which was on the 13th of October.]

The following tradition relative to the escape of Waterman, is preserved by his descendants, and was kindly handed me by his great-grandson, in answer to my inquiry of him for historical information. I give his words—"Amongst other matters, that which made the deepest impression on my feelings was, that when Massachusetts sent for Samuel Gorton and others, my great-grandfather, Richard Waterman, was among the proscribed; but he avoided them in this way. When the conspirators were approaching his habitation, my great-grandmother, suspecting their design, met them at the door with a pan of milk, and offered it to them to drink, and thus detained them until my great-grandfather got out of the back window and ran into the woods, where he remained secreted until those fanatical hell-hounds were far away. To this day I never pass one of their meeting houses, without excited feelings, and many times I have detected myself stripping up my sleeves, to see if I could not find the marks of handcuffs on my wrists."—S.

the prophet Zephany, ii. 10. 11. This shall they have for their pride, because they have reproached and magnified themselves against the people of the Lord of Hosts; the Lord will be terrible unto them, for he will famish all the gods of the earth; and men shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the isles of the heathen. Samuel Gorton having intelligence from Boston to Charlestown, to which he was confined, that Master Cotton preached from that text in the prophecy Zephany, and how he applied the doctrine from it, to have all necessaries withheld from him, telling some eminent members of the Church, that if they either went unto us, to visit us, or sent unto us, to minister to our wants, the curse of God would abide both on them and their posterity, for so doing; the said Gorton hearing of these things, wrote a letter to the ruling Elder in Charlestown,* a copy whereof (verbatim) here followeth, which was consulted upon, by the Ministers immediately, together with the Governor, as intelligence was brought unto him, but never answer given unto it, neither by word nor writing.

Charlestown, January the 12, 1643.

Mr. Greene[1]—Forasmuch as we know that the ruler of the congregation hath power to give utterance, and to authorize speech unto edification, and that none ought to hinder wherever or whomsoever he permits or giveth license unto, and inasmuch as we also profess, that there is one thing that is needful, and whosoever shall make choice of that, it shall never be taken away from him, which is to hear the words of Christ. Neither are we ignorant, that none are truly sen-

* We had liberty to speak or write to Elders, or such as the Magistrates licensed to speak with us, in way of question, whom they thought were fitest to ensnare us, so that this writing is but a question; only it hath a large preface.

[1] John Greene was ruling elder of the Charlestown Church. He came to New-England in 1632, and died, April 22, 1658.—S.

sible, or know the necessity, use and benefit of hearing the word of Christ, but only such as are sensible, and see their necessity (yea, and that in the same subject) of speaking and delivering the words of Christ, for the heart of every saint is equally balanced with these two; the same necessity he finds to speak, he also finds to hear; the same necessity he finds to hear, he finds to speak also the word of God; for faith is in hearing, and hearing is in speaking the word of God. If we deny either of these unto a Christian, we deny him the power of faith, which doth consist in them both; nay, if he want a tongue to speak, or an ear to hear, (and that equally, the one as the other) we deny him to be complete in Christ; who, as he had an ear open to the voice of the Father in all things, so had he a tongue to divulge and declare them unto the world; even so with the heart man believes unto righteousness, that is, gives credit to that which he hears, to be in another, and with the mouth, confession is made unto salvation, that is, preacheth or professeth that which God hath made him to be by faith; therefore if thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thine heart that God raised him up from the dead, thou shalt be saved. Nor am I ignorant of the minds of the people, (amongst whom I now sojourn, and am a stranger as all my fathers have been,) how earnest they are I should get my bread with servile work, or else to have hunger and famine to cleave unto my bonds, which they profess themselves to be very clearly instructed in, though in times past it hath been thought sufficient work for a man to be exercised in (at one time) to lie in fetters and irons amongst strangers, though wife and children were not deprived of all necessaries at home. Nor do I doubt, but they may find a time to alter their judgment, (it may be before they are aware) especially if the bridegroom be at the door; and it is well known, that I have not been accustomed to any servile work in any part of my life, till now, of late, in New-England,

where through the kindness of my countrymen, in taking from my family the things of this life, (which God had bestowed on us) I have been necessitated thereunto, which I am so upbraided with in this place.

But it is not grievous unto me, whilst they cannot but see in it (if God have not blinded their eyes) the vanity of those idle shepherds of the Church of Rome,* who cannot speak unto the people, but in a way of so much study and ease; nor had I ever desire to be set up in the world through gatherings and contributions of the people: Therefore have these hands ministered to my necessities. But however I have been exercised about the bread that perisheth, yet hath it not been but with respect unto that which endureth unto everlasting life, which I have endeavored to break, and faithfully to impart unto my wife, children and servants, and to any that had an ear open to listen unto that wholesome word of life, which hath made all other travels or losses whatever, to be light and easy unto me, (as at this day) which I profess to be the only errand I have to do in this world; and however we do preach the Gospel, yet have we nothing to rejoice in, or to glory and praise ourselves for, to lift up ourselves above our brethren; for necessity is laid upon me; that is, I am in want and stand in need of all things, and wo is me if I preach not the Gospel; that is, if I receive not this grace from Christ as well as any other; for the same necessity I have of any other grace, I have this grace also: For of his fulness we all receive, and grace for grace, for the graces of God are a bundle of life in Christ Jesus; so as, that if I reject or neglect, or put off any one of them to another, as no privilege or prerogative of mine, I do the like to all: for his seamless coat may not be divided, but all goeth by lot or portion the same way: And in like manner I am destitute of this, I am destitute of all other grace that proceeds from him; for if I preach the Gospel willingly, I

* Wheresoever the doctrine, spirit and power of it doth appear.

have a reward, that is, if I do it out of any ability, skill or will of my own, gotten and acquired by any pains or industry, as men attain to arts and trades, wherein they are to be preferred before and above others, then I have a reward; that is, something is to be attributed and contributed to me for the same, then go I about to deprive my Lord of his right, shewing myself an unfaithful steward, for where an hundred is due to him, I bid write fifty, that I may take the rest myself, to live upon; for even as I propound my own deserts, demerits and eminency unto a people, so do I propound the undeserving estate and condition of my Lord; proclaiming his baseness whilst I set forth my pains and good will in so doing; but if I do it against my will, that is, if it be contrary to the mind and will of all men, to undergo the cross of Christ, to preach the Gospel, in necessities, reproaches, hard labors and persecutions, then is the dispensation committed unto me; that is, the right of all administration, (wrapped up in that fountain of dispensing the Gospel) doth of right solely belong unto him, and not unto me in any case; yea, it is the will and power of another, and not my own, unto whom the praise and glory of right belongeth and wholly appertaineth, and not unto the will, ability or skill of any man whatsoever: And hence it is, that the cross is easy unto us, because we know that he, as truly, and totally taketh our reproaches and hardships upon himself, which are only due unto us, as he committeth the dispensation of his grace and glory unto us that is none of ours, but only due and belongs unto himself; so that we remember him that suffered such gain-sayings of sinners, lest we should be weary, and faint in our mind, yea, further, there is a necessity of preaching the Gospel upon every soul; for as there is not any that can believe for another unto righteousness, the party being destitute of that grace himself, so there is not any that can preach or confess for another unto salvation, the party being destitute himself of that

grace of confession or preaching. Indeed the saints communicate in these graces one with another, as all of them being heirs and inheritors of the same grace in Christ; but one cannot perform any office for another, as for such as are destitute of the same grace and office themselves, for that were, instead of a girdle, a rent. Therefore the preaching of the Gospel is the discovering of what men are in Christ Jesus, and not only what they may or shall be, also what men are under the wrath of God that abides upon them, being out of Christ, and not only what they shall be; so that every Christian having received this (as an ingrafted word, growing up together with it) that is, that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your faith and mine, he grows up in this also, namely, that I may be mutually edified and comforted by the communication of your preaching and mine; for in the day of the Lord, which is the day of salvation, and behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of salvation, wherein we give no offence, or lay not any stumbling block before our brethren; we villify not that sacrifice once offered up for all. That our ministry may not be reprehended, or that our ministry be not blemished, for so the word is, (momos) that is, we can acknowledge no sacrifice, but only that which is without either superfluity or defect; and in that day, the feeblest in Jerusalem is as David, a king, a leader, a valiant warrior, a sweet singer in Israel; and the house of David, as God, or as the mightiest, (for the word is plural) yea, as the angel of the Lord before them, every one is as the angel or messenger of the Lord, before the rest of the congregation, or as the angel of the Lord before (him) as the word will also bear, that is to say, as the messenger of the Lord, like unto his servant John, to prepare or make ready his way before him, for the messenger of the Lord, and he only, knows how to bring down the high mountain, and how to lift up the lowest valley, and that only is a highway for the royalty of our

King to pass upon in the wilderness. And this is a glory that the world cannot receive, neither can it give it: and it is our rejoicing that we borrow nothing from the world, nor stand in need of anything it hath, to make the Gospel of God glorious; for it were better for us to die, than that any man should make our rejoicing, vain or empty. For it were not full in Christ, if we borrowed anything of the world, which were death to us to think of; what is our rejoicing then or our reward, when as the whole world affordeth nothing at all unto us? Verily this, that when we preach the Gospel, we make it free, which could not be, if it laid claim to anything the world hath in the publication of itself; for then by the laws of relations, the world might lay claim unto, and challenge something from (it) which were to bring the Gospel into bondage. But as the Lord Jesus wrought that great work of reconciliation freely, so as the world could challenge nothing of it at his hands at all; so is that word of reconciliation, to whomsoever it is committed, published freely, so as the world can challenge nothing of them at all; so that the servant of the Lord is free from all men, though he makes himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more. Thence it is that he abuseth not his authority in the Gospel, but keeps his power unspotted, when the world can require nothing at his hands; hereby shewing also the transcedancy of that kingdom, wherein his authority is exercised, beyond the kingdoms of this world, which must borrow one of another, else cannot any be glorious in the height of glory concerning the things of this life; therefore had Solomon himself gold, silver, ivory, apes, and peacocks brought from other nations to augment his glory. But he that is greater than Solomon, beautifieth himself with none of the things of this life, though he had right to them all; that so he might make it manifest that his kingdom is not of this world, therefore gives charge unto his disciples, that as they had freely received, so they should freely give: for

by how much we enjoin people to contribute unto us for preaching the Gospel, by so much we proclaim, that we have given unto God for what we have received of him, and teach others so to do, namely, to bring some preparations, operations, or fitness to receive his grace, which is as far from man, to attain unto, as it was to prepare and fit himself for his creation at the first; so that the benevolence of the saints in communicating of the things of this life, is no part of the glory or beautifying of the house of God, for then a wicked man might add somewhat thereunto; nor shall the glory in the least measure be diminished, when these things shall have an end.

But it is a declaration of their vilifications of the things of this present life, as things of no account or reckoning, when they come into competition with the well being of the saints; and as these things are consumed and turned into ashes, upon that golden altar, so doth there ascend up a perfumatory sacrifice of sweet savor unto the Lord, for according to our villification of the things of this life, so is our valuation of the Lord Jesus, who is either all or none at all in our estimation and account, and if he be all, then he that gethereth much of the things according unto man, hath nothing over or above him that hath the least, and he that gathereth little, hath no lack, or falls short of him that hath the most, for the one and the other consume them in the act of the present supply of their necessity, knowing that if they keep them, in making any account or reckoning of them, for the time to come, they presently putrify and corrupt. Learn this parable therefore, that there is that in the heavenly manna that the rebels may eat in the wilderness and die eternally, as well as that which whosoever eateth shall never die, but live forever, yea, there is a seed to be sown in giving away to another, as well as food to receive for the nourishing of ourselves; and he that sows spareingly in that shall reap spareingly, yea, he that knows not how to minister carnal

things, cannot have spiritual things ministered unto him, no more than a man can keep his sin, and have the righteousness of Christ also. These only therefore that in giving and receiving, know how to perform all in the same act, as the woman in casting her two mites into the Treasury; and out of deep poverty can see the abounding of the riches of liberality. Such can perform an acceptable service to the Lord; but such as only exercise themselves in piece-mealing of the things of God and the things of man, to serve at times and turns for advantage, and reserve the rest, this is as the cutting off of a dog's head, or the offering of swine's blood in the house of God, however else where they may be done without any such abomination, the saints therefore depend not upon, neither desire the world's benevolence, knowing well what their mercies are in the winding up, nor can they expect from them ought else, but bonds, imprisonments and spoiling of their goods, (which through the secret supplies their master makes unto them) they suffer joyfully not looking for so much as a shoe-lachet from the king of Sodom to enrich themselves with, all knowing that the blessings of the Lord upon their endeavours shall yield sufficient to convey them through the valley of Baca; which endeavours, God directeth unto times and seasons to use according to strength and constitution without any to lay task upon them, even as he teacheth the husbandman when to throw in the cummin and the fitches, though they know (notwithstanding) what it is to have power, not to work and to lead about a wife, that is a sister, as well as others. But I am longer in my introduction than I did intend; my question in short is this, namely, whether I may have liberty to speak and express the word of the Lord in the public congregation freely without interruption, either on the Lord's day or the ordinary Lecture, now whilst I am kept from my family and friends, with whom I have been formerly exercised; for seeing our days as a shadow decline, and we are presently

withered as grass, when in a moment we go hence and are no more. We are earnest therefore to express the word of life that fadeth not nor waxeth old as doth a garment, that God's memorial may abide with our posterity, when we are gone the way of all the earth, that you shall not need to fear my touching upon any of those things, which it seems, are to lie sealed as in the grave for the present, I shall tell you what Scripture urgeth my heart for the present to impart, if God lead not into another, before the opportunity be attained; for we cannot treasure up, to bring forth at our pleasure unto profit; no more than we can fetch down at our pleasure for our supply, but only as our God performeth, both the one and the other; for we depend not upon Baal Oboth, as Saul did, but upon the Lord Jehovah, as David did. The Scripture intended is the sounding of the fifth trumpet, Rev. ix. out of which I desire (as God shall assist) to open and declare these points following:

1. What the sound of the trumpet is. 2. Who the Angel is. 3. Why the fifth.

1. What the star is that falls from heaven to the earth. 2. What the fall of it is. 3. How it falls from heaven unto the earth.

1. What the key of the bottomless pit is. 2. To whom it is given. 3. The manner how it is given. 4. How the pit is opened. 5. How it can be said to be bottomless, seeing nothing can be without banks and bottom, but the Lord himself.

1. What the smoke of the bottomless pit is. 2. The cause and manner of its rise, even as the smoke of a great furnace.

1. What the sun and the air are. 2. How they are darkened by the smoke of the pit.

1. What those locusts are, that come out of the smoke. 2, The nature of their power, as the scorpions of the earth have power. 3. How this power is given unto them, seeing that all power is of God.

1. What the injunctions are, that are laid upon the locusts. 2. The rise of those injunctions. 3. The exercise of them. 4. The extent of them.

1. What the nature and property of the locusts are, declared by the several forms ascribed unto them, furniture, ornaments, and their carriage in them.

What their king is, as he is described. 1. By his office assigned. 2. By his title given unto him. 3. How he is a king, seeing the locusts are to have no king over them.

1. What that woe is, that is said to be past, and how it can be said to be past, seeing there is ever woe to the wicked. 2. What the two woes are, which are to come; and how they can be said to come hereafter, seeing the wrath of God abides upon him already that believes not?

Thus you have my question, both with its introduction and sequel; and I attend your answer, which I hope will not only be speedy in respect of time, but specious also in regard of matter, to the satisfying and fulfilling my desires.

Per me,

SAMUEL GORTON.

Now during the time of our confinement, being dispersed abroad into several towns in the country, the people came to be informed of the truth of proceedings, whereupon they were much unsatisfied with what they had done against us; which being perceived, they called a General Court, and without any appearance or questioning any of us, concluded upon our release; sending us a writing of it, together with a further banishment, not only out of all their own jurisdictions, but also that we should not come in nor near Providence, nor our own plantations at Shawomet, with other parts thereto adjoining; out of all which places, we were to depart within the space of fourteen days, and that upon pain of death; which were places out of all their jurisdictions, as Master John Endicott (at that time Deputy Governor) confessed, standing up in public Court, and profess-

ed that God had stirred them up to go out of their own jurisdictions, to fetch us from our own places unto them.

Here followeth a true copy of our release and banishment, sent to us from the General Court, set down, verbatim; and is extant, under their hands: [1]

At a General Court, at Boston, the 7th of the first month, 1643 *or* 1644.

It is ordered that Samuel Gorton and the rest of that company who now stand confined, shall be set at liberty; provided that if they or any of them, shall after fourteen days after such enlargement, come within any part of our jurisdiction, either in the Massachusetts, or in, or near Providence, or any of the lands of Pomham or Socconoco,* or elsewhere within our jurisdiction, then such person or persons shall be apprehended wheresoever they may be taken, and shall suffer death by course of law; provided also, that during all their continuance in our bounds inhabiting for the said time of fourteen days, they shall be still bound to the rest of the articles of their former confinement, upon the penalty therein expressed.

Per Cur.

INCREASE NOWELL, Secret.

When this order of the Court was presented to Samuel Gorton by the Constable of Charlestown, bringing a smith with him, to file off his bolts, he told the Constable, he was not willing to part with his irons on these terms, but expected other news, in fairer terms of release, than were therein expressed; desiring him to go to Master Nowell, who lived in that town, and declare so much unto him. In short time, the Constable returned, bringing divers of the

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* These were their two Indian subjects, lately enticed to renounce their own Prince; thereby to find a way to subject us unto their own wills, or else to execute death upon us.

[1] And is still extant, in the possession of Mr. Barber, of Newport.—S.

chief men in the town with him, and commanded the smith to fall to work to file off his bolts, who did accordingly, and so took them from him, leaving the said Gorton either to walk abroad, on such conditions, or else to stay at his peril.

Now two or three days after our release, some of us being returned to Boston, desiring to stay for the rest of our friends, that we might return together, accompanying each other in our journey, the people showing themselves joyful to see us at liberty, and entertaining us kindly into their houses; which the Governor perceiving, presently sent out his warrant, with strict charge to depart from the town within the space of two hours, (it being about ten of the clock in the forenoon when the warrant came unto us) otherwise further penalty should be laid upon us.

This is a true copy of the Governor's Warrant, extant still, under his hand, word for word.

To the Marshal, or his Deputy.

I am informed that Samuel Gorton and his company are now abiding in the town, and go to divers houses, giving offence thereby, and cause of suspicion, of attempting to seduce some of our people; you are therefore to command them to depart out of the town, before noon this day, upon pain of being apprehended and further proceeded with, according to their deservings.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor.

(i.) 10, '43.

Now, although by the General Court, we had fourteen days allowed unto us, to inhabit within their jurisdictions, not limited to any place, nor excluded from any place for the space of so long time; yet nothwithstanding, upon notice given unto us by this warrant, we presently departed the town,* though upon a sudden, when we were unprovided

*As we passed along the way, a matter of three or four miles from Boston, we came to some Indian wigwams, the Sachem being the prime Sa-

for victuals and other provisions for our journey, and being there was no place inhabited by the English near the place where our wives and children were scattered, out of which they had not expelled us, but only a little island called Rhode-Island, situate in the Narragansett Bay, upon which we arrived within the time limited unto us; but the night before we came to Rhode-Island, we lodged at Shawomet in our own houses there, and considering of the act of their Court in our expelling and banishment out of those parts, we observed that they had not expressed our land at Shawomet, but only named the lands of Pomham and Sacconono-oco, (the Indians whom they claimed as subjects) we thought good therefore to write unto them for a further explanation of the Court's act, that so we might understand their true intent, being very unwilling to discover their dealings towards us in seeking redress, if we could but see a way, that through our hard labors, our wives and little ones might find a way to subsist.

Here followeth a true copy of the letter sent unto the Governor of the Massachusetts, verbatim, as it is still extant, under the hands of the witnesses, which were taken, lest they should put us off, and not make answer to our letter:

SHAWOMET, March the 26, 1644.

The order of your Court last held, made concerning us, being dark and obscure, which beseems not a matter of that concernment, which you have now entered upon, and made some short progress therein, the issues whereof are pres-

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chem that lives near them, and familiar among them. We came into his wigwam, accidentally, and he having taken notice of us amongst them, how we had been dealt with, as soon as we came in, called some of us by our names, his name being Cutshamekin, we asked him whether Captain Cooke was a good Captain: he answered, "I cannot tell, but Indians account of those as good Captains, when a few dare stand out against many."

sing on unto perfection, whose arrival is waited for, with that hope that never makes ashamed; we may not therefore forbear, to require an explanation of what you intend, by the lands of Pomham and Sacconononoco, for we know none they have, or ever had, within your jurisdiction; if you should therefore, so far forget yourself, as to intend thereby our land lawfully bought, and now in our possession, and inhabited by us, called Shawomet, together with other parts near adjoining, give us your minds and meaning, in plain terms, under your hands. And whereas you conclude, for such our lawful abode and residence, to prosecute against us, by course of law, unto death; we resolve upon your answer, with all expedition, to wage law with you, and try to the uttermost, what right or interest you can show to lay claim, either to our lands or our lives; and shall take it as your own act, urging us and constraining us thereunto, to look after our right, in the havocks and spoils, you have already made among us, which otherwise God hath taught us, to suffer joyfully the robbing and spoiling of our goods, if you did not necessitate us to look after recompence from you. We expect your answer by this bearer, and in case you return it not speedily, we conclude your order of Court to intend no such thing, as to drive us from our lawful possessions, as above said; but that you used such terms as scarecrows, imagining you had children to deal with, or as a starting hole to evade part of that danger that may ensue; nor can you put us off for answer, till the Court sit again, being a general act, and you but one, now to answer, for we know you may better open unto us the intent of the Court for our satisfaction, than you could expel us out of any part of your jurisdiction, before the time set by the Court, contrary to the liberty it had given unto us.

By the order of the Government of Shawomet, John Warner, Secretary; sufficient witness being taken of our plain and man-like dealing with you herein.

A true copy of a letter sent to the Government and Governor of the Massachusetts, the day and year abovesaid. In witness of, or in presence of

RALPH EARLE,
JOHN ANTHONY.[1]

Here followeth a true copy of the Governor's answer to our letter abovesaid, set down here, verbatim, and is extant, under his own hand:

To Samuel Gorton, John Warner, and the rest of that Company.

For satisfaction of what you require, by your writing of March 26, 1644, this is to let you know, that the expression and intent of the order of our last General Court, concerning your coming within any part of our jurisdiction, doth comprehend all the lands of Pomham and Sacconononoco; and in the same are included the lands which you pretended to have purchased, upon part whereof you had built some houses, (be the place called Shawomet or otherwise;) so as you are not to come there, upon peril of your lives. This I testify to you. JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, 2, (i.) 1644.

You must know withal, that the Court did not intend their order should be a scare-crow (as you write,) for you will find it real, and effectual, if you shall transgress it.

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[1] Ralph Earle, was received an inhabitant of Rhode-Island June 29, 1639. He was living in 1652. There was one of the same name engaged in Philip's war, in 1675. Mention is made of him, in Church's Indian Wars, Drake's Ed. page 51. He opposed the selling of some Indians for slaves, who were taken at Aponagansett. That was the ordinary mercy shewn the natives who were taken prisoners. They were sold only for a limited number of years. This circumstance will in some degree diminish our regret for such proceedings on the part of our forefathers toward the savages.

Of the other witness John Anthony, I can find no traces. He was probably of Rhode Island. The name is very common there, to the present day.—S.

Thus far the Governor's letter, written with his own hand. Now, upon our coming to Rhode-Island, the Indians of that great country of the Narragansetts, hearing of our return without the loss of our lives, they wondered, having observed the causeless cruelty they had offered unto us; some of them being within the hearing of the shot of the guns, whilst they lay entrenched against us; as also how we were used in the Massachusetts, and the constant report, whilst we lay amongst them, that some of our lives should be taken away, or else kept as slaves so long as we lived; considering these and the like things, they marvelled much at our deliverance and release, from amongst them. Now our countrymen having given out formerly, amongst the Indians, that we were not Englishmen, to encourage them against us (because the awe of the English hath been much upon them) and being they could not father the name of any sectary or sect upon us, but we could clearly demonstrate we were no such opinionated persons, they then called us Gortoneans, and told the Indians we were such kind of men, not English. Now the Indians calling the English in their language, Wattaconoges, they now called us Gorton-oges, and being they had heard a rumour of great war, to be in Old England, and that it was a land so furnished with multitudes of people, they presently framed unto themselves a cause of our deliverance, imagining that there were two kinds of people in Old England, the one called by the name of Englishmen and the other Gortonoges; and concluded that the Gortonoges were a mightier people then the English, whom they call Wattaconoges, and therefore the Massachusetts thought it not safe to take away our lives, because, however there were but a few of us in New-England, in comparison of those that came out against us, yet that great people; that were in Old England would come over, and put them to death that should take away our lives from us, without a just cause.

Whereupon the Sachems of the Narragansetts consulting together, presently sent messengers unto us, to come and speak with them, and being they were those of whom we had bought our land (which now the Massachusetts had taken away from us as all that inhabit upon that Bay have done) they being very importunate to have us to come over to speak with them, we not knowing what the occasion was, we yielded unto their request; a matter of half a dozen, or seven of us took boat to go over the Bay, to them, they seeing the vessel come, news was brought to the Sachem, who sent a band of lusty, well armed men, who met us, as soon as we were come to land, to conduct us to old Sachem Conanicus [1] his house. Multitudes of Indians, as we passed

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[1] Roger Williams, in 1643, speaking of the Narragansett country, says, "the chiefest government in the country, is divided between a younger Sachem, Miantonomi, and an elder Sachem, Conanicus, of about forescore years old, the young man's uncle." Conanicus was son of Tashtassuck, a former Sachem of the Narragansetts, under whom that tribe had extended its dominion over many of the neighboring tribes.

After the banishment of Roger Williams from the Massachusetts, he and his associates fled to the Narragansetts. The natives shared with these second pilgrims, their scanty fare. Without enquiring into their religious faith, they relieved their wants, contributed to their comfort, and gave them land to build and plant upon. When the followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, in a succeeding year, were banished by their Christian brethren, they sought and obtained shelter and accommodation from the same savages; and when no place was left for Gorton and his little company among his countrymen, Miantonomi sold them Shawomet, for a home. Nor did their kindness to the first settlers of the State of Rhode-Island, stop here. Year after year rolled on, and they still remained the firm friends of these outcasts. Did they want larger accommodations in land, these were readily sold to them. Was their assistance required, it was cheerfully given.

In 1636, after the banishment of Williams, and his settlement among the Narragansetts, the first formal treaty was concluded between that tribe and the Colony of Massachusetts. But even before this, the declaration of Conanicus was true—"he never suffered any wrong to be offered the English since they landed." "If," added he, "the Englishman speak true, if he mean truly, then shall I go to my grave in peace, and hope that the English

along, coming forth, and seemed joyful; which we taking notice of, (neither the one nor the other being usual among

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and my posterity shall live in love and peace together." How humiliating to reflect, that this savage, even when making these declarations, could enumerate ten instances in which the English had not kept faith with him!

The Narragansetts, though always more faithful and friendly to the English than any other tribe, were always most suspected by the United Colonies. Their comparative strength and importance may have been in part the cause; but the greater cause of these suspicions, and of the injurious treatment they received, arose, undoubtedly, from the aid and assistance they afforded to the heretical first settlers of the State of Rhode-Island. Was not the death of Miantonomi assented to, or rather required, for the same reason?

In 1643, a war broke out between Sequasson, an ally of the Narragansetts, and Uncas, Sachem of the Mohegans. Uncas killed seven of Sequasson's men, wounded thirteen more, burnt his wigwams, and carried off the booty. Miantonomi had covenanted not to commence war with Uncas, without the assent of the English. He complained to Connecticut, and was told, the English had no hand in it, nor would encourage him. He applied to Massachusetts for redress, and was told "if Uncas had done him or his friends wrong, and would give no satisfaction, we would leave him to his own course." Thereupon Miantonomi commenced a war upon Uncas; and in a battle that ensued, the Narragansetts were worsted, and Miantonomi taken prisoner. Uncas carried him to Hartford, and delivered him to the English. There he was kept guarded until the matter was laid before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, at Boston. In this assembly of civilians, it was determined unanimously, that "it would not be safe to set him at liberty, neither had we sufficient ground to put him to death." Five of the most judicious elders were consulted, and they agreed that he ought to be put to death!! It is matter of regret that their names cannot be ascertained. Upon this, word was sent to Uncas, who took Miantonomi into his own jurisdiction, and there murdered him in cold blood, according to the direction of his Christian advisers. He was accompanied by several English, to see the execution, and protect him against the Narragansetts.

The Narragansetts always asserted that they agreed with Uncas for the ransom of their Sachem. They gave in to the English the particulars of the payment made in part of the ransom. Uncas, at first, insisted that the goods delivered, were a present to himself, to induce him to surrender the custody of Miantonomi to the English; he said afterwards, that Miantonomi

them) some of us began to be a little jealous, that the agents of the Massachusetts, who lived near unto us, had gone about to betray us into their hands, upon some false suggestions concerning the death of their Sachem Miantonomi, who lost his life immediately before the Massachusetts came against us; and however he was suddenly slain by an Indian coming behind him, as he marched upon the way, yet there were English present at the doing of the act, which we were a little jealous the above said agents might have suggested, that we might be consenting thereunto, which all the Indians took for a most injurious act, not only because he was so famous a Prince amongst them, but also however he was taken in a stratagem of war by the Indians, yet a great ransom was paid for his redemption, and his life taken away also; and they are very conscientious to recompense the shedding of blood, (especially of such personages) with blood again. But when we were come to the old Sachem's house, we were courteously entertained, and from thence conducted to the house of Sachem Pessicus, brother and successor in government to the late Miantonomi; when we were there, divers sachems and their chief counsellors, took us aside to consult with us; and asked what we intended to do, or how we could live, seeing the Massachusetts

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disposed of them at his own pleasure. At any rate it does not appear that inquiry was instituted upon this subject, by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, till after the murder of this illustrious Sachem.

If he had not protected the first settlers of the State of Rhode-Island, probably his liberty would not have been deemed inconsistent with the safety of the United Colonies; nor would the opinions of the five elders have convinced them that they had sufficient ground to put him to death. As it was, he was sacrificed, because he was more liberal in his views than his Christian neighbors—more benevolent in his actions—more catholic in his religion. His memory should be embalmed in the grateful recollection of every inhabitant of the State of Rhode-Island.

Conanicus survived Miantonomi. He died June 4, 1647, in good old age, honored by his tribe, and respected and beloved by the whites who had settled in his territories.—S.

had not only taken our estates from us in goods and chattels, but also our houses, lands and labors, where we should raise more, for the preservation of our families, and withal told us that their condition, might (in great measure) be parallel with ours, else they would willingly have done any thing for our help, in regard that our land was bought of them, and we had faithfully paid them for it, according to our contract. But they told us, they had not only lost their Sachem, so beloved amongst them, and such an instrument of their public good; but had also utterly impoverished themselves, by paying such a ransom for his life, (as they then made us an account of) notwithstanding his life taken away, and that detained also. We made answer unto them; that for our parts, we were not discouraged in any thing that had befallen us, for we were subjects to such a noble State in Old England, that however we were far off from our King and State, yet we doubted not but in due time, we should have redress; and in the mean time we were resolved to undergo it with patience, and in what way we could, labour with our hands for the preservation for our wives and children. The answer they made unto us was this, that they thought we belonged to a better Master than the Massachusetts did. Whereupon desiring our stay, they called a General Assembly, to make known their minds and to see the minds of their people, and with joint and unanimous consent, concluded to become subjects to the State and Government of Old England, in case they might be accepted of. We told them, we could promise them nothing, nor take any engagements upon us, not knowing the minds of that honorable State; but if they would voluntarily make tender of themselves, as they themselves thought meet, we would endeavour to convey it safely (in case we went over about our own occasions) and bring them word what was the pleasure of the State therein: Whereupon they chose four of us, as Commissioners in trust for the safe custody,

and conveyance of their act and deed, unto the the State of Old England.

The Act and Deed of the voluntary and free submission of the chief Sachem, and the rest of the Princes, with the whole people of the Narragansetts, unto the Government and protection of that Honorable State of Old-England; set down here, verbatim, the Deed itself being extant.

Know all Men, Colonies, Peoples, and Nations, unto the fame hereof shall come; that we the chief Sachems, Princes or Governors of the Narragansett, (in that part of America, now called New-England) together with the joint and unanimous consent of all our people and subjects, inhabitants thereof, do upon serious consideration, mature and deliberate advice and counsel, great and weighty grounds and reasons moving us thereunto, whereof one most effectual unto us, is, that noble fame we have heard of that great and mighty Prince, Charles, King of Great Britain, in that honorable and princely care he hath of all his servants, and true and loyal subjects; the consideration whereof moveth and bendeth our hearts with one consent, freely, voluntarily, and most humbly to submit, subject, and give over ourselves, peoples, lands, rights, inheritances, and possessions whatsoever, in ourselves and our heirs successively for ever, unto the protection, care and government of that worthy and royal Prince, Charles, King of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors forever, to be ruled and governed according to the ancient and honorable laws and customs, established in that so renowned realm and kingdom of Old England; we do, therefore, by these presents, confess, and most willingly and submissively acknowledge, ourselves to be the humble, loving and obedient servants and subjects of his Majesty; to be ruled, ordered, and disposed of, in ourselves and ours, according to his princely wisdom, counsel and laws of that

honorable State of Old England; *upon condition of his Majesty's royal protection*, and righting of us in what wrong is, or may be done unto us, according to his honorable laws and customs, exercised amongst his subjects, in their preservation and safety, and in the defeating and overthrow of his, and their enemies; not that we find ourselves necessitated hereunto, in respect of our relation, or occasion we have, or may have, with any of the natives in these parts, knowing ourselves sufficient defence, and able to judge in any matter or cause in that respect; but have just cause of jealousy and suspicion of some of His Majesty's pretended subjects. Therefore our desire is, to have our matters and causes heard and tried according to his just and equal laws, in that way and order His Highness shall please to appoint: *Nor can we yield over ourselves unto any, that are subjects themselves in any case*; having ourselves been the chief Sachems, or Princes successively, of the country, time out of mind; and for our present and lawful enacting hereof, being so far remote from His Majesty, we have, by joint consent, made choice of four of his loyal and loving subjects, our trusty and well-beloved friends, Samuel Gorton, John Wickes, Randall Holden and John Warner, whom we have deputed, and made our lawful Attornies or Commissioners, not only for the acting and performing of this our Deed, in the behalf of His Highness; but also for the safe custody, careful conveyance, and declaration hereof unto his grace; being done upon the lands of the Narragansett, at a Court or General Assembly called and assembled together, of purpose, for the public enacting, and manifestation hereof.

And for the further confirmation, and establishing of this our Act and Deed, we, the abovesaid Sachems or Princes, have, according to that commendable custom of Englishmen, subscribed our names and set our seals hereunto, as so many testimonies of our faith and truth, our love and loyalty to that our dread Sovereign, and that according to the Eng-

lishmen's account. Dated the nineteenth day of April, one thousand six hundred forty-four.

PESSICUS, his mark, Chief Sachem, and successor of that late deceased Miantonomi.

L. S.

The mark of that ancient CONANICUS, Protector of that late deceased Miantonomi, during the time of his nonage.

L. S.

The mark of MIXAN, son and heir of that abovesaid Conanicus.

L. S.

Witnessed by two of the chief counsellors to Sachem Pessicus.

Indians.
- AUWASHOOSSE, his mark.
- TOMANICK, his mark.

Sealed and delivered, in the presence of these persons:

English.
- CHRISTOPHER HELME,[1]
- ROBERT POTTER,
- RICHARD CARDER.

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[1] Christopher Helme. When he arrived in this country, where he first settled, and when he went to Shawomet, I have not been able to ascertain. On the 23d of January, 1649, he was disfranchised, "for going about to undermine the town" of Warwick. It would seem that this censure was removed, as he continued to reside there till his death, which was before December, 1650. He left a widow, Margaret. He had a son, William, who lived in Warwick, in 1661.—S.

Here followeth a copy of a letter sent to the Massachusetts, by the Sachems of the Narragansetts, (shortly after their subjection to the State and Government of Old England) they being sent unto by the Massachusetts, to make their appearance at their General Court, then approaching:

We understand your desire is, that we should come down into the Massachusetts, at the time of your Court, now approaching. Our occasions at this time are very great; and the more because of the loss (in that manner) of our late deceased brother, upon which occasion, if we should not stir ourselves, to give testimony of our faithfulness unto the cause of that our so unjust deprivation of such an instrument as he was amongst us, for our common good, we should fear his blood would lie upon ourselves; so that we desire of you, being we take you for a wise people, to let us know your reasons why you seem to advise us as you do, not to go out against our so inhuman and cruel adversary, who took so great a ransom to release him, and his life also, when that was done. Our brother was willing to stir much abroad to converse with men, and we see a sad event at the last thereupon. Take it not ill, therefore, though we resolve to keep at home, (unless some great necessity calls us out) and so, at this time, do not repair unto you, according to your request. And the rather because we have subjected ourselves, our lands and possessions, with all the rights and inheritances of us and our people, either by conquest, voluntary subjection or otherwise, unto that famous and honorable government of that Royal King, Charles, and that State of Old England, to be ordered and governed according to the laws and customs thereof; not doubting of the continuance of that former love that hath been betwixt you and us, but rather to have it increase, hereby being subjects now, (and that with joint and voluntary consent) unto the same King and State yourselves are. So that if any small things of difference should fall out betwixt us, only the send-

ing of a messenger may bring it to right again; but if any great matter should fall, (which we hope and desire will not, nor may not) then neither yourselves, nor we are to be judges; but both of us are to have recourse, and repair unto that honorable and just Government; and for the passage of us or our men, to and again amongst you, about ours or their own occasions, to have commerce with you, we desire and hope they shall have no worse dealing or entertainment than formerly we have had amongst you, and do resolve accordingly to give no worse respect to you or yours, than formerly you have found amongst us, according to the condition and manner of our country.

Narragansett, this present May the 24th, 1644.

PESSICUS, His mark.

CONANICUS, His mark.

Now, before the assembling of the next General Court, in regard the Indians had expressed themselves as above, we heard there were fears and jealousies raised up in the minds of the people of the Massachusetts, and other of their United Colonies, as though there was some danger of the Narragansetts coming against them, to do some hurt unto them. So that when we heard their Court was assembled, we wrote unto them as follows:

A true copy of a Letter sent to the Massachusetts, at a General Court, held shortly after the submission of the people of the Narragansetts unto the State of Old England, by the Commissioners put in trust for the further publication of their solemn Act.

These are to let you understand, that since you expelled

us out of your coasts, the Sachems of the Narragansett, have sent for certain men of the King's Majesty's subjects, and upon advised counsel amongst themselves, (a General Assembly being called of purpose for that end) they have jointly, voluntarily, and with unanimous consent, submitted and subjected themselves, with their lands and possessions inherited by lineal descent, voluntary subjection, right of conquest, purchase or otherwise, whatever lands or privileges appertain and belong unto them, unto that honorable and famous Prince, Charles, King of Great Britain and Ireland, in that renowned State and Government of Old England, to be ruled and ordered, according to those honorable laws and customs, in themselves and their successors forever, which is performed and done, in that solemn, durable and commendable custom of record, under divers and several hands and seals, witnessed sufficiently, both by the Natives and English, solemnly delivered and received on His Majesty's behalf, holding correspondence with the laws and customs of that honorable State of Old England in all points. We thought good therefore, to give you notice hereof, at your General Court now assembled, that it may serve to inform yourselves, and all your United Colonies, of the performance of this act done, without any further pains or trouble; that so not ourselves only, that are eye and ear witnesses hereof, (but you also) may follow our occasions and employments, without any extraordinary care or fear of the people abovesaid, to offer to make any inroad, or give any assault upon us. But with that indignity offered and done unto their sovereign, which cannot be borne nor put up, without a sharp and princely revenge, nor may we upon the like penalty, offer to disturb them in their bounds and territories, in their ordinary and accustomed employments among themselves, or with any of their neighboring natives, whose grounds of proceeds, causes and occasions are better known unto themselves, than we can be able to

judge of. But if either you or we find any thing amongst them too grievous to be borne, they not making any violent assault upon us, we know whither and to whom we are to repair, and have recourse for redress, as we tender our allegiance and subjection unto our King and State, unto which they are become fellow subjects with ourselves; and therefore, of necessity, His Majesty's princely care must reach unto them. Furthermore, that it may appear, that our dealings towards you, and all men, have been and shall prove just and true, whatever your dealings may or have manifested themselves to be towards us; know therefore, that being abroad of late, about our occasions, we fell to be where one of the Sachems of that great people of the Maukquogges [1] was, with some of his men, whom we perceive are the most fierce and warlike people in the country, or continent where we are, furnished with 3700 guns—men expert in the use of them, plenty of powder and shot, with furniture for their bodies in time of war for their safety, which our natives have not. We understand that of late they have slain a hundred French, with many Indians, which were in league with the French, putting many of them to cruel tortures; and have lost but two of their own men. These being, as we understand, deeply affected with the Narragansetts, in the loss of their late Sachem, unjust detaining also of so great a ransom, given and received for his life; and else are resolved (that if any people offer to assault them in their accustomed courses amongst the natives, or seeking after their ancient rights and privileges, not offering wrong to any of His Majesty's subjects, nor

[1] Mohawks. Rumors of the Mohawks were not unfrequent, at that time, in the Colonies. They were universally represented as exceedingly savage and cruel. Their name alone, struck terror to the hearts of the natives who inhabited New-England. It would appear, that there was some connexion between them and the Narragansetts. That their numbers and strength were overrated by the owners of Shawomet, is highly probable.—S.

violating their subjection to that noble State, which they seem to respect, and much to adore) to wage war with them unto the uttermost, which it seems is the very spirit of that people to be exercised that way; which as we desire to make use of it ourselves, so do we hereby give notice to you also, to make the best use of it unto yourselves, in all your colonies united.

By us, the true and lawful owners of Shawomet.

JOHN WARNER, Secret.

June the 20th, 1644.

These things being done, we residing upon Aquethneck, alias Rhode-Island, hiring houses and grounds to plant upon, for the preservation of our families, the Governor of the Massachusetts perceiving that we still abode among the English, and were not gone to the Dutch, as others formerly did, he then wrote a letter, privately, to some in the island, whom he thought they had interest in, being he continued a member of their Church, however removed from them, telling him, that if he and others (who were in like relation unto them) could work the people of the island to deliver us up into their hands again, (at least some of us) it would not only be acceptable unto the Court, then sitting, but unto most of the people in general. The people of the island having notice of this letter, did altogether dislike and detest any such course to be held with us; knowing very well, what they had already done, and how causelessly. So that we abode still upon the island, and followed our employments, until such time as there appeared amongst us a Charter of Civil Government, granted by the State of Old England, for the orderly, quiet and peaceable government of the people inhabiting in those parts of the country called Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay; which Charter being joyfully embraced, and with all expedition, an orderly and joint course was held, for the investing of the people into the power and liberties thereof unanimously,

for the exercise of the authority, in the execution of laws, for the good and quiet of the people, which thing gave great encouragement unto the planters, to go on in their employments, hoping to enjoy their lawful rights and privileges without disturbance, which the Massachusetts, together with Plymouth, understanding, they go about by all means to discourage the people, by their endeavouring to weaken and invalid the authority of the Charter in the eyes of the country, entrenching upon those places, to frustrate and make void the Charter, as by maintaining their coadjutors as aforesaid, in opposing of us, giving them order to set up writs upon our houses, where formerly we lived, prohibiting all men for intermeddling with those houses, lands, peoples, either English or Indians, (which they call their own people) without their consent and approbation in those parts, which all plainly fall with in the confines of the forenamed Charter, and far out of all their jurisdiction.

Here followeth a true copy of a Warrant, set upon our houses at Shawomet, verbatim, being extant, which was done after the Charter appeared amongst us.

Whereas we understand that some of our countrymen about Providence, or those parts, do intend to set down upon our lands at Shawomet, or those parts; this is therefore to give notice to any such, that they forbear, without license from us, to attempt the same, or to meddle with any of our people there, either English or Indians; for let them be assured, that we resolve to maintain our just rights.

Given at the Court at Boston, the 16th of the 8th month, Ann. 1644.

By me, INCREASE NOWELL, Secret.

After this, they ceased not to send out their Warrants amongst us, after the Charter was established amongst us, sending divers, and serving them upon the men of Provi-

dence, expressly commanding their appearance, at their Courts in the Massachusetts.

A copy of one of their Warrants to the men of Providence, here followeth, word for word, and is extant, under their hand:

To the Executors of Francis Weston.

You are required to take notice of an attachment against the lands of Francis Weston, so as to bind you to be responsible, at the next Court at Boston, to answer the complaint of William Arnold,* for withholding a debt of thirty shillings, due to him, and hereof not to fail, at your peril.

Dated the 5, (4) 1645.

Per Cur. WILLIAM ASPINWALL.

And as they thus go beyond their bounds, not only to entrench upon the liberties and labors of their countrymen, (but also upon that authority transferred upon that people by the State of Old England, for the quiet and peaceable ordering and government of themselves) not only in Providence and Shawomet, but likewise upon Rhode-Island, both in Portsmouth and Newport, specified in the Charter. The colony of Plymouth joined in league with the Massachusetts, to such ends and purposes, and sent their messengers to Rhode-Island, as namely one Master John Brown,[1]

* One of their new coined subjects amongst us.

[1] John Brown held the office of Assistant, in Plymouth colony, for a great number of years. He was repeatedly chosen one of the Commissioners from that colony in the meetings of the United Colonies. He lived in Taunton, Rehoboth, and afterward in Swanzey. The allegation in the text is corroborated by Winthrop. [See Sav. Wint. vol. ii. p. 220.] But it is difficult to reconcile his conduct in this business, with the circumstance narrated of him by Winthrop, in Sav. Wint. vol. ii. p. 252, to wit, that he, Mr. Brown, in 1645, forbade the Massachusetts emigrants from settling on Pomham's land, "telling them that it belonged to Plymouth, and that it should be restored to the right owners, meaning Gorton and his company." Sentiments similar to the last quoted from Winthrop, were reiterated by

an Assistant in government amongst them there, who went from house to house, (both in Portsmouth and Newport) discouraging the people for yielding any obedience unto the authority of the Charter; giving them warning (as from the Court of Plymouth) not to submit unto any government that was established by virtue of a late pretended Charter, (as he very presumptuously called it) nor unto any other authority, or government, but only such as was allowed and approved of by them, although formerly they have many times confessed and acknowledged both by word and writing, that it was out of their jurisdictions, without which acknowledgment, the people would never have adventured to lay out their estates, and to have planted themselves and families in those parts, some of them having too great and costly experience of Plymouth's dealings with their countrymen, to be such as may be fitly parallel with the dealings of the Massachusetts; and their practice, springing from the same spirit, hath brought them into league and band, when they were clearly manifested each to other, who before at the time of their first neighborhood there, they were at a distance, and stood aloof, one from the other, as each thinking, I am holier than thou; the men of Plymouth coming thither from Amsterdam, and the other out of hot persecutions of the Bishops in Old England.

Now that these men do not only entrench causelessly upon their countrymen, but also upon the poor Indians inhabiting in those parts, it is very plain, by their proceedings against that people of that Narragansett, whose country

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him before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1651, as may be seen in Appendix, No. 7. Mr. Brown scrupled the right of coercing any person to support the ministry. There was scarcely any other man, either in Plymouth or Massachusetts, who could, with impunity, have expressed a doubt on this subject. But it does not appear to have diminished his influence, either in his own colony, or with the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He died in 1668.—S.

falls within the confines of the Charter, which people only going about to right themselves upon such Indians as they conceive have mightily wronged them, in taking away the life of their Prince, after so great a ransom given and received for his rescue. This they make their occasion to go out against them to cut them off, and so take their country into their own jurisdiction: Whereas the Indians, of our knowledge hold themselves bound to revenge the blood of their Prince, it being so unlawfully (in their eyes) taken away; nay, they are not quiet in themselves, unless they do revenge it, or else spill their own, in their endeavors thereafter; in the mean time, they are in a continued act of mourning, as we know, for the space of one whole year and an half, they mourned continually, not only by blacking their faces in token thereof, but every day their mourning women, morning and evening upon their knees, with lamentations and many tears, a long time together, as ourselves have been eye witnesses, when we have had occasions amongst them; and in houses that were more public, where the wife and children of the deceased Prince were, there did a man continue a speech (during the time of the women's praying, sighing and lamenting with abundance of tears,) declaring what their loss was in being deprived of such a Sachem, and how wrongfully it was done by the enemy, as also how they were all of them engaged to revenge his blood, else would it so lie upon their own heads, as to bring more miseries and evils upon them.[1] Now for this their proceeding against their adversary, the Indian, that thus

[1] That this was the customary manner of mourning for the dead, appears from Williams's Key. "Upon the death of the sick," says he, "the father or husband, and all his neighbors, the men also, as the English wear black clothes, wear black faces, and lay on soot very thick, which I have often seen clotted with their tears. This blacking and lamenting they observe in most doleful manner, divers weeks and months, yea, a year, if the person be great and public."—S.

deprived them of their Sachem, and so wrongfully (as they conceive) the Massachusetts and Plymouth have offered to go out against the people of the Narragansetts, to cut them off by the sword, sending word to Providence Plantations, that if they should stand as neuters, and not go out with them in this work, they would make plunder of them. So Captain Standish[1] sent word in the name of Plymouth (now since we came out of those parts) unto the men of Providence, as we are credibly informed by letters from divers hands, as also by word of mouth from persons of good note, who were in the country there present among them when these things were done, informing us of many passages, of the proceedings of the Massachusetts and Plymouth, both towards the people of Providence Plantations, as also the Indians of that country of the Narragansetts. Only one letter that concerns the Indians, we desire to set down, to give further intelligence to the reader of these men's dealings, who seemed so meek, and so mild in their native country, Old England, in the time of their abode there, as though they could not heave a hand, or wag a tongue against any thing but a Bishop's ceremony, that being only offensive unto them,

Here followeth a true copy of a letter sent unto us since our coming from those parts of America called New-England:

We are all in health, at this present, and cheerful; (the greatest want is your company) though men generally more invective than ever. The Bay had provided an army to go against the Narragansetts, had they not been prevented in

[1] Miles Standish was "the hero of New-England." He was one of "the first comers" of Plymouth; was their chief military commander and much celebrated for his skill and prowess. For nineteen years he was one of the Assistants in that colony. He died at Duxbury in 1656.—S.

the very interim, thus. Captain Harding[1] informed the Court, of the difficulty of the enterprize, upon which the Court employed him and Mr. Wilbour,[2] to go to Narragansetts, and take Benedict* to interpret. When they came to Benedict, he refused to go without a hundred men in arms, only to possess them with danger, to effect his bloody plot; upon which Mr. Williams, being sent for to Narragansett, and also myself, to enquire of us, what the minds of these mad people were, to kill men for nothing; upon which I went to Providence, a thinking to go with Master Williams; but when I came there, he was gone with the Captain and Master Wilbour, upon Benedict's refusal. I stayed their return, and their agreement was to have Pessicus† go into the Bay, and Master Williams was necessitated to put himself hostage till his return. This news coming into the Bay, did so vex the ministers, that Master Cotton preached upon it, that it being so wicked an act to take Master Williams with them, being one cast out of the Church. It was all one as to ask counsel of a witch, and that those that did it were worthy to die. Upon which Master Wilbour was ready to die, for fear he should be hanged. So then the Indians went down, and they compelled them to cease wars with Uncas,‡ and to pay them five hundred pounds,

* One of their aforesaid subjects or agents, dwelling in Providence.

† Chief Sachem of the Narragansett.

‡ That is, the Indian who slew their Sachem Miantonomi, when he had received a ransom for his life.

[1] Robert Harding was admitted a freeman of Massachusetts in 1631; was afterwards a Captain, and one of the leading men in Boston. He was among those who were disarmed in 1637, after which he removed to Rhode-Island, where he was admitted a freeman, August 20, 1638.—S.

[2] Samuel Wilbour was admitted a freeman in Massachusetts, in 1634. In 1637 he was disarmed, with the other followers of Mrs. Hutchinson, and removed to Rhode-Island. He signed the first covenant of government there, in 1638.—S.

for charges of Court, and provisions for soldiers,* and to leave four of the chief Sachem's children, till the money be paid, and to leave four of his chief men till the children came, and to promise them not to sell any land without their consent.† This being done, they came home again, and sent a man to tell me what was done, telling me that if the Lords in England help them not, they are like to suffer at present; but still they say they are not afraid of them, but only give them their demands, rather than to war before the Lords hear of it; that all may see they mean no hurt to English, but will submit to the laws of England, concluding it is but lent, it will come home with advantage, both to their wisdom and profit. Pessicus hath been often with me, to desire me to inform you of these things, with great desire to see you again. Thus, in haste, I rest,

Your ever loving friend, J. W.[1]

This 20th of November, 1645.

Thus have we given a true report, and made a faithful relation, as briefly as we could, of what passages have fallen out betwixt the people of Providence Plantations, and the rest of our countrymen inhabiting about them, which we have sensibly felt, and our families are now pressed under, laying it unto heart, and seriously taking into consideration, hath not only occasioned but necessitated some of us to be here at this present, with the consent of many others, according to our bounden duty and allegiance, to present the truth hereof to this State.

London, the 14th of January, 1645.

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* The Court called to consult how to cut them off, and soldiers they had raised up for that purpose.

† Thus to get interest in their land, either to people it with whom they please, or else to get occasion to go out against them again.

[1] Probably from John Wickes, or John Warner, as neither of them went to England with Gorton and Holden, the other Commissioners appointed by the Narragansetts, in their deed of submission.—S.

Here cometh a letter to hand, was written in the time of our confinement, and lying in bolts and irons, in the Massachusetts, occasioned by one of our wives, she hearing doctrine delivered (in that part of the country where she was driven with her children) questioning the truth of it, wrote to her husband, to desire his thoughts of it. It was gathered from Mat.xxiv.29, and alluding also to Heb.xii.26,27, for the explication of it; the substance of the doctrine was, that such a time of reformation and restoration of the Church of God, here on earth, was coming, the glory whereof should darken the sun and moon, and cause the stars to fall from heaven, that is, saith he, make the Apostle's doctrine and order of the Churches in those days to appear as darkness in comparison of that light which should now appear; shewing also, that the ministry of the Apostles was that which might and should be removed, that a more excellent to glory might be brought in and remain; concluding that the ministry of the Apostles, was but a ministry of witness, but one should hereafter appear having the presence and reality of that which they but only witnessed, and gave testimony unto.

Here followeth a true copy of the answer given unto the things propounded as above; in way of satisfaction, how we are to think of such kind of doctrine, which the world is so taken up with, and seems to stand in such expectation and hopes of.

Concerning that point you wrote from Mat. xxiv. 29, as also Heb. xii. 26, 27, namely, that the Apostle's ministry, was a ministry of witness, we readily grant; but that it was no more than a ministry of witness, we utterly deny; for it had not only witness, but judgment also of condemnation and absolution in it; therefore the Apostle saith, God shall judge you according to my gospel, for the Apostles are not, but through the spirit of the Son, who is that faithful and true witness, yea, and the judge of all, also, and higher than his

ministration, (who comes out of the bosom of the father) we look nor ever desire to go. Therefore we only confess him, who is and who was, and who is to come; and therefore, reject such a gospel as professeth such persons, times and ministrations past, as never shall come again, and such persons, times and ministrations, to come, as yet never were, as a cunning device and slight of Satan, to beguile the souls of men, either to stand in expectation of things to come, or else in admiration of things past, whilst in the mean time they are kept void of faith, which gives being unto the things, yea, even at the present time; otherwise it is but to know persons and things after the flesh, but henceforth know we no man after the flesh, no, though we have known Christ Jesus after the flesh, yet henceforth know we him no more.

And for the sun being darkened, to be the ministry of the Apostles becoming dark, in respect of a great light appearing, we may in no case allow, for the sun there spoken of, is that Sun of Righteousness, a greater than which shall never appear; but when the cross of Christ, (spoken of in that chapter) is evidently set forth and declared to be that which indeed it is; then is that Sun of Righteousness, that is light in itself, turned into darkness, in all the men of the world, even as the saints, which are darkness in themselves, become light in the Lord; for as the wicked turn the truth of God into a lie, which is truth in itself, and ever will be, so they transform the light of the Lord into darkness, which in itself is light, and can never be darkness: The moon also, whose time is to appear, and her place to have dominion in the night, shall not give her light; she shall fail in her office to shine, wax, wane, and to set bounds to times and seasons; that is, the wicked shall see themselves deprived of all hope to attain to a change, time, or season, which shall alter their woful condition, or remove the wrath of the Lord from them; yea, in their looking back to the

changes of their life before, wherein they have thought themselves so well exercised, the moon in that respect shall be turned into blood, (as Joel speaks in the same case) all times shall afford them nothing else but to see how they have been practising, the shedding of that innocent blood; even from the blood of Abel, whom his brother slew in the field, where they were exercised in ordinary employments, in the things of this life, unto the blood of Zacharius slain, (between) or in the middle of the temple and the altar, even in the very height of their worship and ordinances, so much stood for, at this day. Nothing but such manner of light, or such a time or season, (shall that light of heaven) the times and changes which they have passed through, afford unto them; yea, the stars shall fall from heaven, even cease to afford their various glories and lights, yea, that day-star shall never give notice of that day springing from on high to visit them, or the rise of that Son of Righteousness, with healing under his wings, nor shall their several operations and virtues yield any refreshment unto these terrene and sublunary things, that is, all those several glories, and various virtues and operations that are in that bright morning star, the Lord Jesus, and in those seven stars which he holds in his right hand, they shall all fall off and lose their lustre, light and influence, in and towards the earthly sons of Adam, as though they had never been; for as the rejoicing of the lamp of the righteous is a putting out and a cessation of all sin and sorrow; even so the putting out of the candle of the wicked is a cessation and utter demolishing of all the virtues and excellencies of Christ unto them, as though they were not at all; nay, more than so, for as the sin and miseries which men are by nature subject unto, are made, through the wisdom of God, a means whereby we see the height and depth, yea, all the dimensions of the love of God do appear unto us; so are the excellencies that are in Jesus Christ made (through the wisdom of that serpent) means of

torture and torment to the wicked forever, even as the excellencies of these visible heavens, would be a greater torture to man to lose them, than if he had never seen or enjoyed them; and thence it is, that the powers of heaven are shaken, or the dominions of heaven; for every thing in the heavens hath its lordship; the sun hath dominion of the day, the moon and the stars the dominion of the night; the sun hath lordship, in shining when the moon hides her face, but not in setting bounds to times and seasons; for the moon hath lordship in that, but not in affording virtue and influence to herbs and plants; for the stars have power and dominion in that, yea, every star hath its particular power and virtue, yet can they not water the earth! The clouds have their dominion in that, yet cannot they serve man to breathe in; the air hath dominion in that. So it is in the heavenly powers of our Lord Christ, whatsoever is in him hath its dominion, so as all the rest have not their glory without it; so that whosoever is declared in the kingdom of heaven it is the first and the chief, and all the rest do serve to make up all its power or chieftie, so all the elders cast down their crowns before it; all the excellencies that are in Christ Jesus, as love, wisdom, righteousness, holiness, power, and glory, all things in him have dominion and power, and all these heavenly powers whatsoever are shaken, that is, removed out of their places, not to appear in them any more, for the place wherein God declared his image at the first, in the beginning, was man; but when the cross of Christ is truly declared, then are all these heavenly powers shaken out of man, yea, removed out of that proper place given unto them in the beginning. Therefore it is said immediately after these tribulations, or immediately with these tribulations, (as the word will also bear) that is, the preaching of the Cross and these things are inseparable. No marvel therefore, that whenever the Cross is preached, the champions of that man of sin, came out against it, striving to re-

tain their God: for as it would be to nature, in things of this life, to see all chief powers and heavenly bodies so shaken, as to remove them out of their place forever; the very thoughts whereof are dismal to the mind of man, so, and infinitely more, is it to the soul of a man, to have the excellencies and noble powers and dominions of God removed out of his heart, where he placed them in the act of his first creation, and so that the excellencies of Christ are ever shaking, and ever removing out of their place in the wicked, that the height of their torment may ever appear and remain: for these things are shaken and removed in them, through the wisdom of the serpent, that those things that cannot be shaken, namely, the wrath and vengeance of God, may remain; even so it is in the godly, their sins and miseries are ever shaking and removing out of their proper place, that those things that cannot be shaken, namely, the grace and righteousness of Christ may remain forever: therefore the voice of the Gospel shakes both heaven and earth, in that place alluded unto in your letter, Heb. xii. 26, 27, alluding both to Mount Sinai, and Mount Sion, so that the word yet once more, declares a double removal, yea, and that of things that are made, for man was made in the image of God, yet the wisdom of the serpent removed this image, that man's righteousness, which is nothing but abomination in the sight of God, might ever remain. So also was Christ made sin, but the wisdom of God removed this sin, in the very act of his being made so, that the righteousness of God might remain and abide forever; and then and then only shall or doth appear the sign, or the miracle or wonder of the Son of Man in heaven, in those clouds of witness, or in that cloud of witnesses with power and great glory, so as all earthly kindreds shall mourn and wail before him; even so, Amen. Now the sign or wonder of the Son of Man is this, that God made him a world of life at the first; for he breathed into his face the breath of lives, (as the word is) for the

life of all the world was in him, and yet this world of life is become nothing else but a world of death in the wicked, and no life of God found in them at all; so is that Son of Man in the second Adam, made a world of sin and death, and yet this world of sin and death is become a world of righteousness and life unto the godly, and no sin or unrighteousness of man found in them, for never was guile found in his mouth. Even so, Amen. And this is the sign or miracle of the Son of Man, which the world knows not of, and therefore hath so many empty conjectures what it may be thought to be, gazing up into heaven after it, when as it is come down unto us, and they know it not. Rom. x. 7, 8.

Thus have I given you my thoughts, as brief as I could, concerning what you propounded unto me; and bless the Lord that you ministered occasion to look into the text. However we are set apart as a forlorn people in the eyes of and by the world, yet doubt I not, but our God has singled us out for other ends and uses, who hath put us into the Isle of Patmos, or among the nation of the dead, or deadly, (as the word signifies) to reveal unto us the great mysteries of his kingdom, that we may declare unto those that now be here, how to have their hope in God, and that it may be told unto our children's children, that noble work that he hath wrought for us, in our Lord Christ, who is over all, God blessed forever. Amen.

Your loving husband, in bonds, and yet free,

SAMUEL GORTON.

A POSTSCRIPT.

Divers letters were written to friends, in answer to questions, and resolutions of scriptures, which now are not at hand; otherwise we are very free to publish them, to be seen of all, that the wise hearted might judge of what our spirits and practices relished, and how they were employed in the time of our durance amongst these men, that were so ca-

gerly minded to make us blasphemers, that so they might take away our lives, as a part of the glory, and beautification of their religion.

Only we desire the reader's pains, to take a view of one other letter, in answer to a friend who seemed to be troubled about that scripture, in John vi. 53, what the meaning of it might be, desiring resolution therein, since we arrived in England. The words are these: "Then Jesus said unto them, 'verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you.' "

In these words, consider, first, the occasion of them, secondly, the sum of them, and thirdly, the parts.

First for the sum, it is a divine sentence exclusive of all men, from the life and spirit of God, save only such as do eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood.

Secondly, the parts of them, for order sake, are four. First the occasion of this sentence, in these words, Then Jesus said unto them; secondly, the confirmation of this sentence, laid down in these words, Verily, Verily; thirdly, the manner of the sentence, contained in these words, I say unto you; fourthly, the sentence itself excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted, as do eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood.

For the first, which is the occasion of this divine sentence; that is, the reasonings within themselves, which the Jews had in the operations of their natural hearts, upon the delivering of this manner of doctrine unto them, even by the Son of God himself, implied in this word, (then) looking back upon the verse immediately going before, from which Christ takes occasion to utter this sentence; whence we observe, that the word of God takes occasion to utter and make itself manifest, even from the natural reasonings, and argumentations framed in men's minds; though they are not the cause, yet they are the occasion of the manifestation of it; even as the truth, righteousness, power and au-

thority that is in God, breedeth occasionally fear, terror, jealousy, and wrath in men's hearts and minds; though these excellencies that are in God, are no proper cause hereof, but only an occasion without which they would not be. For if there was no judge, the malefactor would not have terror; even so the very natural reasonings of men's hearts, are the occasions of the manifestations of the word of God in us, but no proper cause of it, for the cause is only in God himself; but without such reasonings and characteristical impressions in man's mind, the word of God could never have been implanted, written, or translated in us, whereby we come to have the augmentations and conclusions of sons of God, and not simply or merely of creatures, in our minds, being once enlightened by him, who is God and the Father of Lights, wherever it appeareth. So that the soul of man is of far greater sublimity, and natural excellence in its creation, than any other creature under heaven ever had vouchsafed unto it; so that there is an utter impossibility that any creature should receive the impressions of God, but man alone.

This is a large field to walk in, for according to the variety of the reasonings of the mind of man by nature which is set forth in all those ways, wherein men have walked and manifested themselves in this present world, such is that wonderful Epistle of Jesus Christ in the various writings and expressions of it in the souls, hearts, and lives of the Saints, that are in the light through Jesus Christ; instance in one for all, the spirit of a natural father reasons thus. If my child asks bread (to supply nature in the suppressing of hunger) I cannot put a stone into his mouth, (that were cruelty) but bread, if so be that I have it or can procure it; if the child ask fish, the father cannot put a serpent into his bosom to bite and sting him, but somewhat to cure and refresh him, if he have it. Now do but change this argument into the way of Christ, and let God be the Father, and myself

the child, and then is God, not man, the Father; the bread heavenly and not from the earth; the writing, reasoning or argument, divine and eternal, not human and temporary; and so the reasonings and dictates of our spirits are translated into the arguments and dictates of the spirit of God, and the arguments and dictates of the spirit of God, are translated into a mind and spirit that speaks the very same things, naturally in itself, though only in a way of death, through its natural ignorance, that now it speaketh in that way of life, through that light and knowledge that is in the Lord; and thus, Christ, by sin, condemned sin in the flesh; for by those reasonings wherewith we justify ourselves naturally, through that ignorance that naturally is in us, by the very same arguments and reasonings we condemn ourselves and justify the Lord, through that light and knowledge we have in him by Jesus Christ.

2. The second thing to be observed, is the certainty of this sentence laid down in the form of an oath, Verily, Verily, that is, so it is, or so it shall be, as if he should say Amen, Amen, so it is, and so it shall be without alteration or change, and in that the word is doubled, it is for the certainty of the thing, as Joseph said of Pharaoh's dream, and of no less certainty is all true exposition and interpretation of holy scripture whatever men may dream as Pharaoh did, and knew not the meaning of it, and speak at uncertainties, not being resolved whether things may come to pass now or then, or fall out to be thus, or so in the things of God; for the same spirit of truth and certainty that gives the prophecy, proverb, parable and advice, that records the history, or gives sentence divine, must also interpret, expound, and declare the meaning thereof, else is the book shut and sealed up unto us; great folly, therefore, to conclude of certainty of scripture and of no infalibility in the interpretation thereof. For no more than we know the truth of an interpretation; no more do we know the truth and certainty of

any history, prophesy, proverb, or parable, which is propounded unto us; but take things upon report, as we do other chronologies of this world; having only the traditions of men, for the ground of our worship of God.

The third thing, is the manner of pronunciation of the sentence, I say unto you, or as the word is, I say (in) you; the word used here, translated, (I say) signifies such a saying as a judge speaks upon the bench, when he gives sentence in a cause, upon due proof and evidence, which stands fast in law, being irrevocable; such is the saying and speech of Christ, the truth whereof can never be altered: and whereas he saith, I say unto you, or as the word is, I say (in) you, it signifies, that whatever the saints utter in point of religion, it is, and must be the voice of the Son of God, and not of themselves; so that as he suffereth in them, else can he have no death at all, and then no Saviour, even so he speaks in them, or else hath no voice nor language at all, and therefore without them, no revealer of the will of his Father; for where Christ is silent, there can be no revelation, therefore is he the word, or expression of the Father, and what he saith of him, he saith it in them: therefore he saith, I say in you, as in that very epistle, or writing, wherein I express myself in the Father unto the world, for my Father and I are one.

The fourth thing to be observed is the sentence itself, excluding all from the life of God, such only excepted as do eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood; wherein observe five things briefly; first, why he is called the Son of Man: secondly, what is meant by his flesh and blood in this place: thirdly, what we are to understand by eating and drinking: fourthly, what is meant by life in this place: and, fifthly, how we are to understand, that exception or limitation, seeing that of ourselves we are not able to think a good thought, how can we then perform such a weighty, worthy, and unknown action, that is no less than life itself, in the doing of it.

For the first, viz. Why is he called the Son of Man?

Ans. Not only, nor properly, because he had a soul and a body as all men have, which indeed was good in the creation, and so man is called the Son of God. But he is called the Son of Man, because he is so produced and brought forth, as none can be, but such as proceed of man alone. Nor can he be a Saviour, but in way of such production and son-ship, for Christ in respect of his death, (without which, no Saviour) is brought forth and produced no other way, but only in and by man; for there is no death to be heard of, in God, nor can he bring forth or produce of himself, any thing that is deadly, for he is that fountain of life; yea, life itself in the abstract; nor can it be proper or compatible to the Son of God, to be brought forth in his death, in any, no, nor in all other creatures in the world, but only in man; for as no other creature in the creation was made in the image of God, but man alone, so no other creature, in regard of degeneration, can bear the image of death and hell, but man alone. Therefore it is that Christ is said, to descend into the lower-most parts of the earth, for our redemption, or in our redemption, which is wrought in us, or in our nature only. Therefore he saith, Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell, neither wilt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption: therefore of necessity must he be brought forth, in respect of his death, by man alone.

The second thing to be observed, is, What is meant by flesh and blood?

Ans. By flesh in Scripture, sometimes is meant, that which our Lord or any of his were never nourished, nor in the least refreshed by, and that is the arm of flesh, which is a curse to all them that strengthen themselves by it in the things of God; for in that sense shall flesh and blood never inherit the kingdom of God; nay, add further, in that sense it is true, that if you live after the flesh, it is death, which is to live according to the wisdom, skill, strength, study and forecast, about the things of God, that a creature (merely as he is a

creature) is able to produce and bring forth, which is to live according to the wealth, power and honor of the creature; whose godliness is as the flower of grass, that withereth, consumeth, and is brought to nought; for the best thing that is in it (which is his wisdom) is enmity with God, for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be. But secondly, we are to understand by flesh, that weakness, frailty and imbecility of man, when he is deprived and laid waste in himself of all created glory, which is only then, when the spirit of the Lord blows, or breathes upon him; and so becomes nothing in himself but weakness and infirmity. And in this sense, the prophet saith, Now the Egyptians are men and not God, their horses flesh and not spirit. So saith the Psalmist in the same sense, My flesh also resteth in hope; that is, my weakness and tired out condition hath rest and strength in another, though not in myself; for hope that is seen, is no hope: so that my nature affords no such thing, but only that nature to which I am united. And in another place, Thou art a God that heareth prayers, and unto thee shall all flesh come; that is, thou art strength, and able to supply abundantly in all things, for thou art God, and we bring nothing but weakness and infirmity unto thee, for unto thee nothing but flesh comes; and so the Son of God is truly said to be made flesh, that is, weak and frail, in regard of our nature which he took, or (as a contiuued act) takes upon himself.

Again, by blood is here meant the life, spirit and power of the son of God, as he descends from the Father, even as the vigour, life and spirit of the creatures runs in the blood in the heat thereof; such is the life, spirit, power, virtue and vigor of the Son of Man, as he is of the life, descent and power of the Father from above; and so is God blessed forever, Amen. In this sense is blood taken by our Apostle, where he saith, This is he that came by water and blood; that is, by weakness and strength, not by water only, but by

water and blood; that is, not by weakness only, but by weakness and strength, that is weakness in us, or in our nature, but power in God, or in that nature divine; so is he said in the like sense, to be crucified in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, and so it is also said, that what the law could not do, in that it was weak concerning the flesh, yet the Son of God taking upon him that similitude, and by sin condemned sin in the flesh, that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us; that is, even as he became flesh in us, so do we become spirit, and life in him, which is the fulfilling and perfection of the law.

The third thing observed is, what it is to eat this flesh, and to drink this blood?

Ans. Is that as it is in the body of a man naturally in that respect, even so also it is in that mystical body of Christ, spiritually; for if a man should eat or communicate in (as the meaning is) only in food for the body, and not take in moisture, or drink, for the digestion thereof, it is the destruction of the body, because moisture, as well as heat, must be maintained, those being the two radical humors: else doth the lamp go out, and is extinct; yea, meat without moisture doth suffocate, and choke the spirits, to the surfeiting of the body, and so becomes the overthrow of it, which otherwise would maintain and uphold it. Again, if we should take in only drink without meat, upon which it operateth and worketh, then doth the moisture presently overflow, to the quenching of the heat; and so breedeth either some dropsy in the body, to the sinking and overthrow of it in that way, or else it fumeth up into the head, and breeds madness and giddiness in the brain, unto all foolish, wanton and lascivious wickedness: Even so it is in that mystical body of Christ: And hence it is said (by an elegant allusion to eating and drinking naturally) that we eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood; that is, if we eat or communicate with that weakness and frailty which is nat-

urally in man, and which the Son of God assumed and took into unity with himself, without alike drinking in or communication with, that spirit and life wherein he visits us, and comes into our nature from on high (even out of the bosom of the Father) then do we surfeit and suffocate the spirit, and die in ourselves and in our sins; and so also if we neglect that weakness that is in us, (as though no such thing were) and dream of a high and spiritual estate, which doth not arise out of, and is the result (through the wisdom of God) of that weakness that is in us, then do we either sink in our folly, and become sottish in the things of God, being drunk up only with the things of this natural life, else are we puffed up and become giddy in ourselves, thinking we know something, when as indeed we know nothing as we ought to know, but are merely and vainly puffed up in a carnal, aspiring, proud, vain-glorious, and fleshly mind. So that to eat the flesh and drink the blood of the Son of Man, is to communicate in the things that are of Jesus Christ, both as he is God, and as he is man, and to hold the unity of strength and weakness, that is, how he is made weak in taking our nature, and so carries and bears our infirmities away forever, (he being that scapegoat, whose office it is so to do.) And also, how our nature is thereby made strong and mighty, through that strength of the Son of God, in whom we find no infirmity, but are furnished with his power everlastingly; so that death which is naturally in us (as we are the sons of men) is swallowed up of that victory and life, which is in him, as he is that victorious and eternal Son of God; and without a suitable correspondent and harmonious feeding of these two, as in one individual subsistence, we cannot have life in us, no more than our bodies can be sustained by meat without drink, or by drink only without meat; and that is the fourth particular, else we cannot have life in us, that is, we can have no life, spirit or breathings of the Son of that living

God in us; for as the body without the soul is dead, so also the soul without the life, and spirit of the Lord Jesus is dead; and as the body lives not without meat and drink, heat and moisture, so the soul lives not without communicating alike in this strength and weakness, or in this life and death, which is in the Son of God, who dies concerning the flesh, but is quickened in the spirit, and the spirit of God proceeds ever from these two, whenever it uttereth itself, in that lively oracle or speech from off the covering mercy-seat, it is ever from between these two cherubim, and never speaks evidently, what perilous times are in the last days, but only as it proceeds from these twain, that is, from a dying unto the flesh, and a being quickened in and living unto the spirit, by which life, spirit, or breath, it ever preacheth from the days of Noah even until now, both in ourselves and by ourselves to others; for as it is a maxim that the spirit proceedeth both from the Father and the Son, so is it here, for the flesh, or infirmity of Christ is the Father, and the spirit or power is the Son, as he is brought forth in that way of his death, without which he had never been a Saviour, and the spirit or power is the Father, and the flesh is the Son, inasmuch as he brings forth life in this death, without which he had never been as he is, man, in respect of that life, by which he liveth the life of God, never to die any more; so have we eating and drinking made one in that way of the faith of the Son of God, without which, we cannot live the life of that saint or holy one of Israel.

The fifth particular in this point is, how it can be said, that we eat this flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood: in which consider two things, first, who are meant in that he speaks plurally, except ye eat, &c. Secondly, how we can be said to eat and drink in such a high nature, seeing that we of ourselves cannot think a good thought, much less perform such an act as this.

For the first, who are meant in that he speaks in the second person plural, Ye?

Ans. It is not properly to be understood, as being meant of man and man, no not as of saint and saint, but of one saint as he consists of a twofold nature, according to that faith of the Son of God; so is it, Ye, that is, every one that is in Christ, and so through those precious promises, or gracious covenant, is made partaker of that nature divine; yea, whoever is one of those children that have flesh and blood, of which the Son of God also took part with them, namely, they that are partakers of those two natures by faith, that are in Jesus Christ, to every one of those this is spoken, as to such as are eaters and drinkers in this case, for Christ as he is God, feeds upon nothing but our infirmities; that is, strengthens himself in point of our salvation, with nothing but our frailties and imperfections, and so of weak becomes strong, yea, of an abject, the Lord of all. For he in no case taketh hold on angels, that is, of any power or excellency in the creature, to deliver us thereby, but only on the seed of Abraham (a pilgrim and stranger in the land) he taketh hold; that is, on our weaknesses and imperfections, and out of them he brings his own power and strength and other food, the Son of God never took into unity, nor digested, to gather strength unto himself by. Again, as he is man, he drinketh the blood, that is, takes in, or receives that blood, life, spirit and power of God, whereby he is enabled to do all things according to the purpose of his will, and other drink he never drunk, as he is man: for our poor nature is of that vast emptiness, that nothing but the fullness and power of an infinite and all-sufficient God, can possibly supply and perfect it, and so there is a complete eating and drinking, which is that full satisfaction and nourishment, that can be found in none, save only in the Son of God himself; for it is a weakness of that nature and latitude, that nothing can supply and make up but God himself; and

it is a power of that fullness and perfection that can take nothing into unity with itself, that may be thought to add any thing (no, not in the least) unto that strength and vigor that is in God; for then it were not an Almighty power of God that saves us.

And so it is (We) that eat and drink, that is, we, human nature and divine; for in eating, the word eats up, and consumes our infirmities; and so there is a plurality in the act, not only of natures in that one act, but of eating also in sundry kinds and ways; for as our infirmities are multiplied and that aptitude that is in us to fall, such is the multiplication of that restoration which is in that good word of God; it is (we) also in drinking, that is, our vast emptiness drinks and takes in that fullness, power and spirit, that is in the word of God, in which we are expressed and made manifest to be the sons and daughters of God; and in that mutual eating and drinking our life, strength and comfort doth consist.

The fifth particular, how it is said (that we do eat) that are not able to do anything; a like answer is to be given to this, as to the former: when he saith, Ye, he means not only divers men, but he meaneth every one as considered, in him, who is not only of man, but also of God; so that if we speak of man, separated from the word of God (which hath sufficient power in itself) we miss of the meaning, and of the mind of God, and so of that communion or eating that is in the faith of Jesus Christ; and if we speak of God divided and separated from man, we commit the like error, and are in the same default; but we must hold and maintain the unity of them both, in that way of faith in the Son of Man, then is there power and ability in the heavens and the earth, united in their operations, to bring forth fruit plentifully; which work cannot be done, if either of them were set apart, and separated one from the other: So that the word of God is made strong through our weakness, that so it may appear and make manifest itself: And our weakness appears, and is

acknowledged through that word of God, that so all may be given unto God, and he may be all in all; so that it is (Ye) as man considered, in and with the power and spirit of God, in which he is enabled to do all things; and not (Ye) as considered one man, in and with another; for so all flesh is grass, surely, in that respect the people is vanity.

S. G.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

Petition of some of Providence Colony, to the Government of Massachusetts, against Gorton and others.

PROVIDENCE, this 17th of November, Anno 1641.

TO THE HONORED GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS, TOGETHER WITH THE WORSHIPFUL ASSISTANTS AND OUR LOVING NEIGHBORS THERE:

We, the inhabitants of the town abovesaid, having fair occasion, counted it meet and necessary to give you true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriages of Samuel Gorton and his company, which came from the island of Aquetneck, which continue still as sojourners amongst us, together with John Greene and Francis Weston, two which have this long time stood in opposition against us, and against the fairest and most just and honest ways of proceeding in order and government, that we could rightly and truly use for the peaceable preservation and quiet subsistence of ourselves and families, or any that should have fair occasion to go out or come in amongst us; also six or seven of our townsmen, which were in peaceable covenants with us, which now by their declamations, do cut themselves off from us, and jointly under their hands have openly proclaimed to take party with the aforenamed companies, and so intend, for aught we can gather, to have no manner of honest order or government, either over them or amongst them, as their writings, words and actions do most plainly shew. It would be tedious to relate the numberless number of their upbraiding taunts, assaults and threats, and violent kind of carriage, daily practised against all, that either with care or counsel, seek to prevent or withstand their lewd, licen-

tious courses. Yet, in brief, to commit some few of them to your moderate judgments, lest we, ourselves, should be deemed some way blinded in the occurrences of things, here is a true copy of their writing enclosed, which Francis Weston gave us, the 13th of this present month; they having also set up a copy of the same on a tree in the street, instead of satisfaction for fifteen pounds, which by way of arbitration, eight men, orderly chosen, and all causes and reasons that could be found, duly and truly examined and considered jointly together, and he the said Francis Weston, was found liable to pay or make satisfaction in cattle or commodities. But on the 15th day of this present month, when we went orderly, openly, and in warrantable way, to attach some of the said Francis Weston's cattle, to drive them to the pound, to make him, if it were possible, to make satisfaction, which Samuel Gorton and his company getting notice of, came and quarrelled with us in the street, and made a tumultuous hubbub; and although for our parts we had before-hand, most principally armed ourselves with patience, peaceably to suffer as much injury as could possibly be borne, to avoid all shedding of blood, yet some few drops of blood were shed on either side; and after the tumult was partly appeased, and that we went on, orderly, into the cornfield, to drive the said cattle, the said Francis Weston came furiously running with a flail in his hand, and cried out, "Help Sirs, Help Sirs; they are going to steal my cattle," and so continued crying, till Randall Holden, John Greene, and some others came, running, and made a great outcry, and hallooing and crying "Thieves, Thieves, Stealing Cattle, Stealing Cattle;" and so the whole number of their desperate company came riotously running, and so with much striving in driving, hurried away the cattle, and then presumptuously answered they had made a rescue, and that such should be their practice, if any men, at any time, in any case, attach anything that is theirs. And fully to relate the least part of their such like words and actions, the time and paper would scarce be profitably spent; neither need we advise your discretions, what is likely to be the sad events of these disorders, if their bloody currents be not either stopped, or turned some other way. For it is plain to us, that if men should continue to resist all manner of order and orderly answering one of another in different causes, they will suddenly practice not only cunningly to

detain things from another; but openly, in public, justly or unjustly, according to their own wills, disorderly take what they can come by; first pleading necessity, or to maintain wife and family; but afterwards, boldly, to maintain licentious lusts, like savage brute beasts, they will put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, lives, blood nor any thing will be precious in their eyes. If it may, therefore, please you, of gentle courtesy, and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend us a neighborlike helping hand, and send us such assistance, our necessity urges us to be troublesome unto you, to help us to bring them to satisfaction, and ease us of our burthen of them at your discretion; we shall evermore own it as a deed of great charity, and take very thankfully, and diligently labor in the best measure we can, and constantly practise to requite your loving kindness, if you should have occasion to command us or any of us in any lawful design. And if it shall please you to send us any speedy answer, we shall take it very kindly, and be ready and willing to satisfy the messenger; and ever remain your loving neighbors and respective friends.

WILLIAM FIELD,
WILLIAM HARRIS,
WILLIAM CARPENTER,
WILLIAM WICKENDEN,
WILLIAM REYNOLDS,
THOMAS HARRIS,
THOMAS+HOPKINS'S mark.
HUGH BEWITT,
JOSHUA WINSOR,
BENEDICT ARNOLD,
WILLIAM MAN,
WILLIAM W. HUNKINGES,
ROBERT R. WEST.

To the much honored Governor of Massachusetts Patent, and to the rest of the worshipful Assistants there, these be delivered, carefully, we pray.

[Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections.]

[The Editors of the 1st vol. 3d series, Mass. His. Collection, say, "Perhaps the readiness felt by our friends in Rhode-Island to denounce the proceedings of the Massachusetts Colony towards the planters of Warwick, which

were indeed arbitrary in no small degree, may be somewhat blunted by this address, that proves the complaint against Gorton and his associates, to have been first preferred from Providence."

The answer to this address, as given in Sav. Wint. vol. 2d, p. 59, clearly shews that none of the proceedings of the Massachusetts Colony, either arose from it, or had any reference to it. "We answered them," says Winthrop, "that we could not levy any war, &c. without a General Court. For counsel, we told them, that except they did submit themselves to some jurisdiction, either Plymouth or ours, we had no calling or warrant to interpose in their contentions; but if they were once subject to any, then we had a calling to protect them." The first warrant or summons to the planters of Warwick, does not bear date, until October in the following year; it does not mention this address, but refers alone, to the injuries done to the English who had submitted themselves and lands to Massachusetts, to wit, William Arnold, Benedict Arnold, Robert Coles and William Carpenter.

But admitting that the proceedings of Massachusetts originated from this address, will this afford even a palliation for them? The colony at Providence was beyond their bounds and jurisdiction, and its Government was independent of both Massachusetts and Plymouth. The address was not an act of the Government; it is not in the name of the Government; it was not, nor does it pretend to be an act of a majority of the colonists; but it was an address from a few individuals, called by Winthrop, "the weaker party," who had consented to be governed by the majority, to a neighboring Government, to interfere in the internal regulations of that colony, and overthrow the acts of the majority. Exactly parallel would the case be, if the minority, on any question in the State of Rhode-Island, should send a petition to the Government of Massachusetts, requesting their aid in enforcing their opinions; the answer to which would still be, that they "had no calling or warrant to interpose."]

No. II.

Order of Commissioners of Foreign Plantations, relative to Gorton and his Company.

After our hearty commendations, we being specially entrusted by both Houses of Parliament with ordering the affairs and government of the English plantations in America, have some months since received a complaint from Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, in the name of themselves and divers others English, who have transported themselves into New England, and now are or lately were inhabitants of a tract of land called by the name of the Narragansett Bay, (a copy of which complaint the inclosed petition and narrative will represent to your knowledge,) we could not forthwith proceed to a full hearing and determination of the matter, it not appearing unto us, that you were acquainted with the particular charge, or that you had furnished any person with power to make defence in your behalf, nor could we conveniently respite some kind of resolution therein without a great prejudice to the petitioners, who would have lain under much inconvenience, if we had detained them from their families till all the formality and circumstances of proceeding (necessary at this distance) had regularly prepared the cause for a hearing. We shall therefore let you know in the first place, that our present resolution is not grounded upon an admittance of the truth of what is charged, we knowing well, how much God hath honoured your government, and believing that your spirits and affairs are acted by principles of justice, prudence and zeal to God, and therefore cannot easily receive any evil impressions concerning your proceedings. In the next place, you may take notice, that we found the petitioners' aim and desire, in the result of it, was not so much a reparation for what past, as a settling their habitation for the future under that government by a charter of civil incorporation which was heretofore granted them by ourselves. We find withal that the tract of land, called the Narragansett Bay, (concerning which the question is arisen,) was divers years since inhabited by those of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, who are interested

in the complaint, and that the same is wholly without the bounds of the Massachusetts patent granted by his majesty. We have considered that they be English, and that the forcing of them to find out new places of residence will be very chargeable, difficult and uncertain.

And therefore upon the whole matter do hereby pray and require you to permit and suffer the petitioners and all the late inhabitants of Narragansett Bay, with their families and all such as shall hereafter join with them, freely and quietly to live and plant upon Shawomet and such other parts of the said tract of land within the bounds mentioned in our said charter, on which they have formerly planted and lived, without extending your jurisdiction to any part thereof, or otherwise disquieting them in their consciences or civil peace, or interrupting them in their possession, until such time as we shall have received your answer to their claim in point of title, and you shall thereupon have received our further order therein.

And in case any others, since the petitioners' address to England, have taken possession of any part of the lands heretofore enjoyed by the petitioners or any their associates, you are to cause them which are newly possessed as aforesaid, to be removed, that this order may be fully performed. And till our further order, neither the petitioners are to enlarge their plantations, nor are any others to be suffered to intrude upon any part of the Narragansett Bay.

And if they shall be found hereafter to abuse this favor, by any act tending to disturb your right, we shall express a due sense thereof, so as to testify a care of your honour, protection, and encouragement.

In order to the effecting of this resolution, we do also require, that you do suffer the said Mr. Gorton, Mr. Holden, Mr. Greene, and their company, with their goods and necessaries, to pass through any part of that territory which is under your jurisdiction, toward the said tract of land, without molestation, they demeaning themselves civilly; any former sentence of expulsion or otherwise, notwithstanding.

We shall only add, that to these orders of ours, we shall expect a conformity, not only from yourselves, but from all other Governors and Plantations in New-England whom it may concern. And so commending you to God's gracious protection, we rest, your very loving friends.

From the Governor-in-chief, Lord Admiral, and Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, sitting at Westminster, 15 May, 1646.

WARWICK, Governor and Admi. Jud.
NORTHUMBERLAND,
PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY.
NOTTINGHAM,
MANCHESTER,
FRA. DACRE,
SAM. VASSALL,
CORN. HOLLAND,
WM. WALLER,
WM, PUREFOY,
DENNIS BOND,
GEO. SNELLING,
BEN. RUDYER.

[Winthrop's Journal.]

No. III.

Edward Winslow's Commission from Massachusetts.

MASSACHUSETTS, in New-England, in America.

Whereas Samuel Gorton, John Greene, and Randall Holden, by petition and declaration exhibited to the Right Honorable the Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief, and Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, as members of the High Court of Parliament, have charged divers false and scandalous matters against us, whereof their Honors have been pleased to give us notice, and do expect our answer for clearing the same; we therefore, the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts aforesaid, assembled in our General Court, being careful to give all due respect to his Lordship and the Honorable Commissioners, and having good assurance of the wisdom and faithfulness of you, our worthy and loving friend, Mr. Edward Winslow, do hereby give power and commission to you to appear before his Lordship and Commissioners, and presenting our most humble duty and service to their Honors, for us and in our name to exhibit our humble remonstrance and petition, in way of answer to the said false and unjust charge of the said Gorton, &c. and by the same and other writings and instructions delivered to

you under the hand of Mr. Increase Nowell our Secretary, to inform their Honors of the truth and reason of all our proceedings with the said Gorton, &c. so as our innocency and the justice of our proceedings may appear to their Honors' satisfaction. And if any other complaints, in any kind, have been, or shall be, made against us, before the said Commissioners, or before the High Court of Parliament, you have hereby like power and commission to answer on our behalf, according to your instructions. And we humbly crave of the High Court of Parliament and of the honorable Commissioners, that they will vouchsafe our said Commissioner free liberty of seasonable access, as occasion shall require, and a favorable hearing, with such credit to such writings as he shall present in our name, under the hand of our said Secretary, as if we had presented them in person, upon that faith and credit, which we would not wittingly violate, for all worldly advantages; and that our said Commissioner may find such speed and despatch, and may be under such safe protection, in his stay and return, as that honorable Court useth to afford to their humble subjects and servants in like cases. In testimony hereof we have caused our common seal to be hereunto affixed. Dated this 4 (10) 1646.

By order of the Court.

INCREASE NOWELL, Secretary.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor.

[Winthrop's Journal.]

No. IV.

Answer of Massachusetts to Gorton's Memorial to the Commissioners of Foreign Plantations.

To the Right Honorable Robert, Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief, Lord Admiral, and the other Lords and Gentlemen, Commissioners for Foreign Plantations, the humble Remonstrance and Petition of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New-England, in America:

In way of answer to the petition and declaration of Samuel Gorton, &c.

Whereas, by virtue of His Majesty's charter, granted to your petitioners in the fourth year of His Highness's reign,

we were incorporated into a body politic, with divers liberties and privileges extending to that part of New England where we now inhabit; we do acknowledge (as we have always done, and as in duty we are bound) that, although we are removed out of our native country, yet we still have dependence upon that State, and owe allegiance and subjection thereunto, according to our charter; and accordingly we have mourned and rejoiced therewith, and have held friends and enemies in common with it, in all the changes which have befallen it. Our care and endeavour also hath been to frame our government and administrations to the fundamental rules thereof, so far as the different condition of this place and people, and the best light we have from the word of God will allow. And whereas, by order from your Honors, dated May 15, 1646, we find that your Honors have still that good opinion of us, as not to credit what hath been informed against us before we be heard, we render humble thanks to your Honors for the same; yet forasmuch as our answer to the information of the said Gorton, &c. is expected, and something also required of us, which (in all humble submission) we conceive may be prejudicial to the liberties granted us by the said charter, and to our well being in this remote part of the world, (under the comfort whereof, through the blessing of the Lord, His Majesty's favor, and the special care and bounty of the High Court of Parliament, we have lived in peace and prosperity these seventeen years,) our humble petition (in the first place) is, that our present and future conformity to your orders and directions may be accepted with a salvo jure, that when times may be changed, (for all things here below are subject to vanity,) and other Princes or Parliaments may arise, the generations succeeding may not have cause to lament, and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries, how came we then to lose them, under the favor and protection of that State, in such a season, when England itself recovered its own? In freto viximus, in portu morimur. But we confide in your Honors' justice, wisdom, and goodness, that our posterity shall have cause to rejoice under the fruit and shelter thereof, as ourselves and many others do; and therefore we are bold to represent to your Honors our apprehensions, whereupon we have thus presumed to petition you in this behalf.

It appears to us, by the said order, that we are conceived, 1st, to have transgressed our limits, by sending soldiers to fetch in Gorton, &c. out of Shawomet in the Narragansett Bay; 2d, that we have either exceeded or abused our authority, in banishing them out of our jurisdiction, when they were in our power. For the first, we humbly crave (for your better satisfaction) that your Honors will be pleased to peruse what we have delivered to the care of Mr. Edward Winslow, our agent or commissioner, (whom we have sent on purpose to attend your Honors,) concerning our proceedings in that affair and the grounds thereof, which are truly and faithfully reported, and the letters of the said Gorton and his company, and other letters concerning them, faithfully copied out, (not verbatim only, but even literatim, according to their own bad English.) The originals we have by us, and had sent them, but for casualty of the seas. Thereby it will appear what the men are, and how unworthy your favor. Thereby also will appear the wrongs and provocations we received from them, and our long patience towards them, till they became our professed enemies, wrought us disturbance, and attempted our ruin. In which case, our charter (as we conceive) gives us full power to deal with them as enemies by force of arms, they being then in such place where we could have no right from them by civil justice; which the Commissioners for the United Colonies finding, and the necessity of calling them to account, left the business [to us] to do.

For the other particular in your Honors' order, viz. the banishment of Gorton, &c. as we are assured, upon good grounds, that our sentence upon them was less than their deserving, so (as we conceive) we had sufficient authority, by our charter, to inflict the same; having full and absolute power and authority to punish, pardon, rule, govern, &c. granted us therein.

Now, by occasion of the said order, those of Gorton's company begin to lift up their heads and speak their pleasures of us, threatening the poor Indians also, who (to avoid their tyranny) had submitted themselves and their lands under our protection and government; and divers other Sachems, following their example, have done the like, and some of them brought (by the labor of one of our elders, Mr. John Eliot, who hath obtained to preach to them in their own language,) to good forwardness in embracing the gos-

pel of God in Christ Jesus. All which hopeful beginnings are like to be dashed, if Gorton, &c. shall be countenanced and upheld against them and us, which also will endanger our peace here at home. For some among ourselves (men of unquiet spirits, affecting rule and innovation) have taken boldness to prefer scandalous and seditious petitions for such liberties as neither our charter, nor reason or religion will allow; and being called before us in open court, to give account of their miscarriage therein, they have threatened us with your Honors' authority, and (before they knew whether we would proceed to any sentence against them, or not) have refused to answer, but appealed to your Honors. The copy of their petition, and our declaration thereupon, our said Commissioner hath ready to present to you, when your leisure shall permit to hear them. Their appeals we have not admitted, being assured, that they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, nor will be allowed by your Honors, who well know it would be destructive to all government, both in the honor and also in the power of it, if it should be in the liberty of delinquents to evade the sentence of justice, and force us, by appeal, to follow them into England, where the evidence and circumstances of facts cannot be so clearly held forth as in their proper place; besides the insupportable charges we must be at, in the prosecution thereof. These considerations are not new to your Honours and the High Court of Parliament, the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great council, who, in those times of darkness, when they acknowledged a supremacy in the bishops of Rome in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome &c. to remove causes out of the courts in England.

Beside, (though we shall readily admit, that the wisdom and experience of that great council, and of your Honors as a part thereof, are far more able to prescribe rules of government, and to judge of causes, than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up, yet,) considering the vast distance between England and these parts, (which usually abates the virtue of the strongest influences,) your counsels and judgments could neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be so useful to us, or so safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account, for any miscarriage which might befal us, while

we depended upon your counsel and help, which could not seasonably be administered to us. Whereas if any such should befal us, when we have the government in our own hands, the State of England shall not answer for it. In consideration of the premises, our humble petition to your Honors, (in the next place,) is, that you will be pleased to continue your favorable aspect upon these poor infant plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your shadow, and be there still nourished (tanquam calore et rore cœlesti;) and while God owns us for a people of his, he will own our poor prayers for you, and your goodness towards us, for an abundant recompense. And this in special, if you shall please to pass by any failings you may have observed in our course, to confirm our liberties, granted to us by charter, by leaving delinquents to our just proceedings, and discountenancing our enemies and disturbers of our peace, or such as molest our people there, upon pretence of injustice. Thus craving pardon, if we have presumed too far upon your Honors' patience, and expecting a gracious testimony of your wonted favor by this our agent, which shall further oblige us and our posterity in all humble and faithful service to the high Court of Parliament and to your Honors, we continue our earnest prayers for your posterity forever.

By order of the General Court.

(10) '46. INCREASE NOWELL, Secretary.

JOHN WINTHROP, Governor.

[Winthrop's Journal.]

No. V.

Gov. Winthrop's Account of the result of Winslow's Mission to England.

Mr. Winslow set sail from Boston about the middle of 10ber, 1646, and carried such commissions, instructions, &c. as are before mentioned. Upon his arrival in England, and delivery of his letters to the Earl of Warwick, Sir Henry Vane, &c. from the Governor, he had a day appointed for audience before the Committee, and Gorton and other of his company appeared also to justify their petition and information, which they had formerly exhibited against the

Court, &c. for making war upon them, and keeping them prisoners, &c. But after that our agent had showed the two letters they wrote to us from Shawomet, and the testimony of the Court, and some of the elders, concerning their blasphemous heresies and other miscarriages, it pleased the Lord to bring about the hearts of the Committees, so as they discerned of Gorton, &c. what they were, and of the justice of our proceedings against them; only they were not satisfied in this, that they were not within our jurisdiction, &c. to which our agent pleaded two things, 1st, that they were within the jurisdiction of Plymouth or Connecticut, and so the orders of the Commissioners of the United Colonies had left them to us; 2d, the Indians (upon whose lands they dwelt) had subjected themselves and their land to our government. Whereupon the committee made this order following, which they directed in form of a letter to Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut, (one to each) viz.

After our hearty commendations,

In our late letter of 25 May &c. we imparted how far we had proceeded upon the petition of Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden &c. We did by our said letter declare our tenderness of your just privileges, and of preserving entire the authority and jurisdiction of the several governments in New England, whereof we shall still express our continued care. We have since that, taken further consideration of the petition, and spent some time in hearing both parties, concerning the bounds of those patents under which yourselves and the other governments do claim, to the end we might receive satisfaction, whether Shawomet and the rest of the tract of land, pretended to by the petitioners, be actually included within any of your limits. In which point (being matter of fact) we could not, at this distance, give a resolution, and therefore leave that matter to be examined and determined upon the place, if there shall be occasion, for that the boundaries will be there best known and distinguished. And if it shall appear, that the said tract is within the limits of any of the New England patents, we shall leave the same, and the inhabitants thereof to the proper jurisdiction of that government under which they fall. Nevertheless, for that the petitioners have transplanted their families thither, and there settled their residences at a great charge, we commend it to the government, within whose jurisdiction they shall appear

to be, (as our only desire at present in this matter,) not only not to remove them from their plantations, but also to encourage them, with protection and assistance, in all fit ways; provided that they demean themselves peaceably, and not endanger any of the English colonies by a prejudicial correspondency with the Indians, or otherwise; wherein if they shall be found faulty, we leave them to be proceeded with according to justice. To this purpose we have also written our letters of this tenour to the governments of New Plymouth and Connecticut, hoping that a friendly compliance will engage these persons to an inoffensive order and conformity, and so become an act of greater conquest, honour and contentment to you all, than the scattering or reducing of them by an hand of power. And so, not doubting of your concurrence with this desire, as there shall be occasion, we commend you to the grace of Christ, resting

Your very affectionate friends,

From the Committee, &c. 22d of July, 1647.

WARWICK, Governor and Admiral,
PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY,
MANCHESTER,
ARTH. HESELRIGE,
JOHN ROLLE,
HEN. MILDMAY,
GEO. FENWICK,
WM. PUREFOY,
RICH. SALWAY,
MILES CORBET,
COR. HOLLAND,
GEO. SNELLING.

The first letter from the Committee after Mr. Winslow had delivered our petition and remonstrance, which should have been inserted before the former.

After our hearty commendations, &c.

By our letter of May 15, 1646, we communicated to you our reception of a complaint from Mr. Gorton and Mr. Holden, &c. touching some proceedings tried against them by your Government. We also imparted to you our resolutions (grounded upon certain reasons set forth in our said letter) for their residing upon Shawomet, and the other parts of that tract of land, which is mentioned in a charter of civil incorporation heretofore granted them by us, pray-

ing and requiring you to permit the same accordingly, without extending your jurisdiction to any part thereof, or disquieting them in their civil peace, or otherwise interrupting them in their possession, until we should receive your answer to the same in point of title, and thereupon give further order. We have since received a petition and remonstrance from you by your Commissioner, Mr. Winslow, and though we have not yet entered into a particular consideration of the matter, yet we do, in the general, take notice of your respect, as well to the Parliament's authority, as your own just privileges; and find cause to be further confirmed in our former opinion and knowledge of your prudence and faithfulness to God and his cause. And perceiving by your petition, that some persons do take advantage, from our said letter, to decline and question your jurisdiction, and to pretend a general liberty to appeal hither, upon their being called in question before you, for matters proper to your cognizance, we thought it necessary (for preventing of further inconveniences in this kind) hereby to declare, that we intended not thereby to encourage any appeals from your justice, nor to restrain the bounds of your jurisdiction to a narrower compass than is held forth by your letters patent; but to leave you with all that freedom and latitude that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you; knowing that the limiting of you in that kind may be very prejudicial (if not destructive) to the government and public peace of the colony. For your further satisfaction wherein, you may remember, that our said resolution took rise from an admittance, that the Narragansett Bay (the thing in question) was wholly without the bounds of your patent, the examination whereof will, in the next place, come before us. In the mean time, we have received advertisement, that the place is within the patent of New Plymouth, and that the grounds of your proceedings against the complainants was a joint authority from the four governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New-Haven; which if it falls in upon proof, will much alter the state of the question.

And whereas our said direction extended not only to yourselves, but also to all the other governments and plantations in New England, whom it might concern, we declare, that we intended thereby no prejudice to any of their just rights, nor the countenancing of any practice to violate them; and that we shall for the future be very ready to give our en-

couragement and assistance in all your endeavours for settling of your peace and government, and the advancement of the gospel of Jesus Christ, to whose blessing we commend your persons and affairs.

Your very loving friends,

From the Committee of Lords and Commons, &c. 25th May, 1647.

WARWICK, Governor and Admiral.
BAS. DENBIGH,
EDW. MANCHESTER,
WM. SAY AND SEALE,
FR. DANA,
WM. WALLER,
ARTHUR HESLERIGE,
MILES CORBET,
FR. ALLEN,
WM. PUREFOY,
GEO. FENWICK,
COR. HOLLAND.

[Winthrop's Journal.]

No. VI.

Petition of William Arnold &c. to be dismissed from the Government of Massachusetts; and the proceedings thereon.

BOSTON, 26 of 3 mo. 1658.

We, whose names are underwritten, do desire the honored assembly of this Court, to give us a full discharge from submission to this jurisdiction; as also, all the inhabitants of Pawtuxet with us, our lands and estates there.

Witness our hands, WILLIAM ALNOLD,
WILLIAM CARPENTER.

[At the next term of the Court, 1 of the 4 mo. June, 1658, the following petition was presented.]

TO THE HONORED COURT, NOW ASSEMBLED IN BOSTON.

We, the inhabitants of Pawtuxet, who hereunto subscribed, having formerly taken into consideration the occasion of trouble between your colony and the government of Providence Plantations, with reference to ourselves, for to issue the said difference and trouble, were willing to consent to certain proposals tendered by Mr. Roger Williams to

your General Court, tending to a dismission from your government. This is humbly to signify to this honored Court, that as we have done, so do we employ and authorize our trusty friend William Arnold to issue the same.

WILLIAM CARPENTER,
ZACHARY RHODES,
STEPHEN ARNOLD,
BENJAMIN SMITH,
CHRISTOPHER HAUXHURST,
RICHARD TOWNSEND.

I certify that William Carpenter, Zachary Rhodes and Stephen Arnold, inhabitants of Pawtuxet, and Richard Townsend, Christopher Hauxhurst and Benjamin Smith, now beginning there to inhabit, subscribed their respective names as abovesaid.

Witness, ROGER WILLIAMS,
JOHN SHELDON.

[On the 22d, 8 mo. (October) 1653, the Court declare that they were very ready at the previous session, to grant the petition, and waited only for evidence that such was the wish of the inhabitants of Pawtuxet; and they add that this is now proved to their entire satisfaction.

Thus ended all the pretences of Massachusetts to jurisdiction over any of the inhabitants of Providence Plantations.

The petitioners however had done the State some service, and had suffered in that behalf, for which they sought redress and satisfaction by the following petition.]

To the Honored General Court, now assembled in Boston this 18th day of October, 1659:

The petition of William Arnold, humbly sheweth, that whereas in Anno 1643, that the General Court sent to Mr. Richard Calicutt, with commission to seize on the cattle of Gorton's company; the said Calicutt, when he had gotten many of their cattle aforesaid into custody, at Pawtuxet, he there sold and delivered of the same cattle unto your petitioner, viz. five yearlings at the price of forty shillings apiece, and four calves at twenty shillings apiece, and so left them all with your petitioner, in part pay of the charges or debt that Captain Cooke and his company, a little before spent, and left it to pay upon the country's account to your petitioner. But of the said young cattle so sold by

Mr. Calicutt to your petitioner, Francis Weston got away one of the yearlings, which was of his cattle, in a short time after from your petitioner, which had never any thing for it, which was forty shillings loss.

And about six years after, John Warner compelled your petitioner to pay him four pounds, seventeen shillings and six-pence for one of the calves abovesaid, so sold by Mr. Calicutt, all which costs and damages your petitioner hath borne hitherto. And again, about two years agone, John Greene, sen. commenced a suit against your petitioner for the three calves, so sold as abovesaid, and the said Greene's Attorney recovered great costs and damages from your petitioner for them, in and by the courts of Providence Plantations. And whereas, by virtue of commission and power given from the General Court, in the year abovesaid, the 20th day of the 8th month thereof, unto your petitioner, and others with him, your petitioner and two more of those mentioned in the commission, seized on three calves of the said Greene's, to the use of the Country, or General Court, the which three calves and their increase have of late been required also of your petitioner, by the said Greene, and very much trouble your petitioner has been put unto in defence of the cause, one way and another, as partly in the courts of Providence Plantations, where the plaintiff followed the law, knowing the whole colony was generally against the taking away of the cattle of Gorton's company, by any order from Massachusetts to be served within that place. So at one court held at Warwick, in November last, the jury there brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, of a hundred and fifty pounds damages and costs of court; but upon a review of the case, at their next court held in Providence, in the first month last past, there the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff of sixty pounds damages and costs of court, your petitioner has been caused to make payment of, to his great hindrance. Again, whereas by virtue of the General Court's commision abovesaid, your petitioner, and one more with him of those that are mentioned upon the said commission, found about fonrteen head of cattle more at Pawtuxet, of the said Greene's, and seized on them for the use of the General Court, and were driving them towards Massachusetts, the which cattle were rescued by John Greene junior; and now the said Greene perceiving how the most part of that colony stand affected with them, against

Massachusetts' dealing so with the company of Gorton, he demanded satisfaction of your petitioner, for the seizing and driving of the said fourteen head of cattle, &c. that he rescued; threatening to commence another suit against your petitioner for that act also. But to avoid the damages and further charges of that law, which your petitioner had so much paid for the knowledge of it before, your petitioner was constrained to put the cause to arbitration. The plaintiff, he required forty pounds for his damage; so the arbitrators awarded the plaintiff ten pounds, to be presently paid for the act aforesaid. Thus your petitioner has been very much damnified and troubled for the Court's or Country's service, which was laid upon him by the General Court.

The humble desire and request, therefore, is, that this honored Court will be pleased to maintain the Court's and Country's acts in this cause, and therein to consider the great injury and wrong, with troubles, costs and damages, that your petitioner hath sustained and been put unto about the abovesaid cattle, that your first commissioner, Mr. Calicutt, sold and placed upon him, by his authority from the General Court; as he left them with your petitioner in part pay for the country's debt as abovesaid; and he yet left much of the debt unpaid to your petitioner and others of Pawtuxet, the which is not paid, which is to their great damage, who do desire to be paid and satisfied, &c.

Also, the humble desire of your petitioner is further; that seeing the General Court did send for him and called him away from his occasions and employments, unto the said Court, and there in the face of the same Court, the Secretary that signed the commission abovesaid to your petitioner, and the Governor, giving him straight charge with it that your petitioner should be very careful and diligent to put and to see it put into execution, the which charge or command, your petitioner knew not how to neglect or avoid doing of it, without great peril, forseeing the said commission was not limited to a time but the words of it are, viz. "to take John Greene and his son John, &c. and that you seize all such cattle of the said John Greene, which cannot now be found, as you may hereafter find, and either send them to us, or keep them safe till we can send for them, for all which this shall be your sufficient discharge;" neither any prohibition given or sent to any one of them that are mentioned to serve in the said commission, to warn them to forbear or to put the said com-

mission or any part of it in execution, &c. And therefore, your petitioner humbly desireth this honored Court, to maintain the Court's acts here, and to make good the promise set down in the conclusion of the said commission, viz. "for all which, this shall be your sufficient discharge," that seeing your petitioners and some others with him, have been faithful, careful and diligent in discharging their duty of obeying the Court's command for the country's service, that the great damages, costs and loss, besides the many vexations and troubles that your petitioner hath been put upon, to travel up and down the country, from place to place, the which is well known in your Courts, in defence of the cause as well as to other places, may not be suffered to rest upon your petitioner, to his great hurt and overthrow: but that a conscionable satisfaction may be considered of, and made to him, both for the country's debt, and the damages and charges abovesaid; and your petitioner shall always pray, &c.

The deputies desire our honored magistrates would please to give answer to this petition, in the first place.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

18, (8.) 1659.

The Committee, having examined this petition, do find, that the petitioner being authorized by this Court, to act in the behalf of the country, and that his complaints may be referred to these two heads:

1. That on balance of account, there resteth due to him seven pounds, five shillings and eight pence.

2. That such goods as he received in part of satisfaction for what he expended by virtue of the said commission, have been taken from him, by the inhabitants of that place where he lives, with great damages accruing to him thereby.

Now having considered the grounds of his complaint; in answer to the first complaint, we apprehend it is meet that his account presented, be perused by Mr. Calicutt, who was in commission also for that design; and that in case it doth not appear the said debt hath been fully paid, that the balance of the said account being perused, and rectified if any error appear, be forthwith satisfied out of the country's treasury.

To his second complaint, we find that the said Arnold hath since his commission, voluntarily left the protection of

this Court, and joined himself with the people of whom he complains to be thus wronged; but being honestly paid by those that commissionated, we judge it not equal, that this Court should make him satisfaction for the wrong that his own people have done him; but in case the matter be real, and the petitioner doth apprehend his cause to be just, he may have liberty, by himself or his attorney, legally to seize the persons or estates of such as have been actors therein, finding them in this colony, and bring the case to a trial in any court of judicature.

THOMAS DANFORTH,
ANTHONY STODDARD,
ROGER CLAP.

21. 8 mo. 1659.

The Deputies approve of the return of the Committee, in answer to this petition, with reference to the consent of our honored magistrates hereto.

WILLIAM TORREY, Cleric.

Consented to by the magistrates.

EDW. RAWSON, Secret.

[If the petitioners were satisfied with the reasoning of the General Court, contained in the foregoing answer to their petition, I do not know, that any one else can reasonably find fault with it: it could not but have given satisfaction to Gorton and his company.

I annex a copy of the commission, referred to in the foregoing petition, and also a copy of the account, shewing the balance claimed to be due.]

By the General Court.

Commission and power is hereby given to you, Wm. Arnold, Benedict Arnold, Wm. Carpenter, Richard Chasmore, Christopher Hawksworth and Stephen Arnold, and to all and every of you, to apprehend the bodies of John Greene, and his son John, Richard Waterman and Nicholas Power, and bring them to Boston, before the Governor or some other of the magistrates, to be proceeded with, according to justice; and (if need or occasion be,) you may take aid of any other English, or of those Indians which are under our jurisdiction; and that you seize all such cattle of the said John Greene's (which cannot now be found) as you may hereafter find; and either send them to us, or keep them

safe till we can send for them; for all which, this shall be your sufficient discharge.

Boston, the 20 of the 8th mo. 1643.

Per Cur. INCREASE NOWELL, Secret.

OCTOBER, 1643.

Captain Cooke and his company left unpaid to me, and charged it upon Massachusetts, for the Court's account, £15, 18s. 10d.

I have received of Captain Cooke's charges spent at my house, paid me by Mr. Richard Calicutt, item, 5 yearlings at 40s. item, 4 calves at 20s. £14.

He left unpaid of Captain's charges, and Mr. Calicutt's own and his men's expenses to me,	2	18	3
There is also due to Mr. Coles, for the Captain's expenses,	3	00	0
Item to Wm. Carpenter, for labor and time spent.		14	10
Item, to Richard Chasmore for do. do. do.	1	6	8
Item, to Christopher Hawkesworth for do. do. do.		18	2
Sum unpaid is	£8	18	2
Due me, for time spent for two men to fetch two great nets from Shawomet to my house, and drying of them; done by Mr. Calicutt's order,		7	6
For driving of about 14 head of cattle, of old Greene's, that we seized by virtue of the Court's commission, the whole cattle were rescued from us,	1	00	0
	£1	7	6
Total,	£10	5	8
Of which Mr. Cole received 3 calves, that were of old Greene's,	3	00	0
Rest,	£7	5	8

[Mass. Records.]

No. VII.

Extracts from the proceedings of the United Colonies.

[Articles of confederation between Massachusetts, Connecticut, New-Haven and Plymouth, were proposed May 19, 1643, and were then executed by all save Plymouth.]

At the second meeting of the. Commissioners, Sept. 7, 1643, (Boston.) Present: JOHN WINTHROP, President, and THOMAS DUDLEY, for Massachusetts; GEORGE FENWICK and EDWARD HOPKINS for Connecticut; THEOPHILUS EATON and THOMAS GREGSON, for New-Haven; EDWARD WINSLOW and WILLIAM COLLYER, for Plymouth.

Whereas complaints have been made against Samuel Gorton and his company, and some of them weighty, and of great consequence; and whereas the said Gorton and the rest have been formerly sent for, and now lately by the General Court of the Massachusetts, with a safe conduct both for their coming and return, that they might give answer and satisfaction, wherein they have done wrong. If yet they shall stubbornly refuse, the Commissioners of the United Colonies think fit, that the magistrates in the Massachusetts proceed against them, according to what they shall find just: and the rest of the jurisdictions will approve and concur in what shall be so warrantably done, as if their Commissioners had been present at the conclusions; provided that this conclusion do not prejudice the Government of Plymouth in any right they can justly claim unto any tract or tracts of land besides that possessed by the English and Indians who have submitted themselves to the Government of the Massachusetts.

At a Meeting, Sept. 9th, 1646, (*New-Haven.*)

A question being propounded, about the interpretation of a passage in the Commissioners' conclusions at Boston, 1643, the Commissioners for Connecticut and New-Haven, jointly, (Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins being present at those agitations) conceive the sense is clear, that all tracts or parcels of lands are thereby preserved to the colony of Plymouth, except that possessed by the English or Indians, who had then submitted to the Massachusetts, but upon what grounds it was done, unless to ease Plymouth of

charge in Gorton's business, or for that they thought the land questionable, or of small value, is not now remembered.

At a Meeting, September, 7th, 1648, (*Plymouth.*)

Whereas there was presented a writing unto us, from the town or plantation of Warwick, as they call it, by their messengers, Mr. Randall Holden and Mr. John Warner, subscribed by Mr. John Smith, Assistant, in the behalf of the whole town, dated the 4th of the 7th month, 1648, wherein they complain, amongst other things, of divers injuries, insolencies to them, as namely, killing their cattle, about a hundred hogs, abusing their servants when they take them alone, and sometimes making violent entrance into their houses and striking the masters' thereof, stealing and purloining their goods; and hereupon do earnestly desire to know the minds of the Commissioners herein, and to receive advice from them; whereupon the Commissioners, for their future security, gave them the ensuing writing:

To all Indian Sachems whom it may concern, inhabiting within the Narragansett Bay and places adjacent:

The Commissioners for the United Colonies of New-England, having received information of several outrages committed upon the persons and cattle of the English, in several places, cannot but look upon such practices, as tending to the disturbance of the public peace; and, therefore, advise, that due care may be taken by the several Sachems, and all others whom it concerns, to prevent and abstain from all such miscarriages for the future, and if any of them receive any injury from the English, upon complaint in due place and order, satisfaction shall be endeavored them, according to justice, as the like will be expected from them.

Plymouth, the 10th of the 7th month, 1648.

At a Meeting Extraordinary, 23d July, 1649, (*Boston.*)

A letter being presented to the Commissioners from the town of Warwick, the ensuing answer was returned by the same messenger:

We received a letter from you, on the 26th of this present, wherein you propound several injuries offered to you by the Indians, and desire to be informed, whether we have not re-

ceived an injunction from the Parliament in England, to act in your defence. To which we briefly answer, that no such thing hath hitherto been commended hence to the Commissioners of the Colonies, in your behalf, nor by you can rationally be expected from us in the state wherein you now stand; but we shall be ready to attend their late direction as any opportunity is presented to find under what colony your plantation doth fall; and then in future proceedings, both with the English and Indians, endeavor to act according to rules of truth and righteousness.

Boston, July 31st, 1649.

Upon a question betwixt the two colonies of the Massachusetts and Plymouth, formerly propounded and now again renewed by the Commissioners of the Massachusetts, concerning a tract of land, now or lately belonging to Pomham and Sacconono co, two Indian Sagamores, who had submitted themselves and their people to the Massachusetts Government, upon part of which land, some English (besides the said Indians) in Anno, 1643, were planted and settled: The Commissioners for Connecticut and New-Haven, remembering and duly considering what had passed in Anno, 1643, and in Anno, 1646, did and do still conceive, that the Commissioners for Plymouth did consent and agree that the aforesaid tract of land, though it fall within Plymouth bounds, should be and from thenceforward acknowledged as a part and under the Massachusetts' jurisdiction; nor doth it yet appear, that Plymouth, when those conclusions of the Commissioners, Anno, 1643, were read in the General Court, did protest, or doth declare against it, that the Massachusetts might have considered their way before they expended so much charge in Samuel Gorton's business. But what direction, counsel and order, Plymouth Commissioners had from their General Court so to do, we understand not; and what power any of the Commissioners have to resign or pass over any tract of land within their patent to another jurisdiction, without consent and express license from the General Court interested and concerned therein, is of weighty consideration to all the colonies. They therefore advise and desire, that, by a neighborly and friendly treaty, a due consideration may be had, and a course settled, both about the charges expended, and how Pomham and Sacconono co with their people, may be governed and protected.

At a Meeting Sept. 5, 1650, (Hartford.)

The Commissioners for the Massachusetts, informed the Commissioners for Connecticut and New-Haven, how far they had proceeded according to advice given at their last meeting at Boston, to issue the difference betwixt themselves and Plymouth, concerning a tract of land lately belonging to Pomham and Sacconono co, two Indian Sachems; that the General Court for the Massachusetts had by their Commissioners, first offered to resign their interest in the aforesaid lands and appurtenances to Plymouth, if they would engage to protect and to administer justice equally both to Indians and English within those limits; but that Plymouth colony had rather chosen to pass over their right by patent, and had resigned the said tract of land, &c. and left them forever, under the Government of the Massachusetts.

They informed also, with what tenderness and forbearance they had since dealt with Samuel Gorton and his company, though sundry and great complaints had been made and renewed against them, not only by the Indians, but by the neighboring English under the Massachusetts Government. They shewed also a letter from Mr. Easton, President of Rhode-Island, wherein, in the name of the Council there,he declareth, that Rhode-Island and Warwick (where the said Gorton liveth) are combined, and bound mutually to support one another. They desired, therefore, advice from the rest of the Commissioners, how they might further proceed; since upon trial they find, that without a legal force, they can neither redress injuries, nor bring the inhabitants of Warwick to acknowledge and submit to their government.

The Commissioners, remembering what advice had been given by the Honorable Committee of Parliament in this and like cases, that the bounds of patents should be first set out by a jury of uninterested persons, and that all inhabiting within the limits so set forth, should fall under the Government established by patent; and understanding that the forementioned resignation made by Plymouth, was not with full consent and satisfaction to all the freemen of that jurisdiction, and without any agreement or consent of the inhabitants of Warwick, who pretend an interest in Mr. Williams his patent, but will by no peaceable means be brought under the Massachusetts Government; and being desirous, as

much as may be, to prevent inconvenience, and by all due means to preserve and settle peace within and betwixt the Colonies, and with all neighbors, according to the rules of righteousness and prudence, thought fit to recommend, both to the Massachusetts and Plymouth, as their most serious advice, that the Massachusetts, upon the aforementioned respects, do acquit and forever relinquish the right and title they have to the lands of Pomham and Sacconono aforesaid, and the jurisdiction thereunto belonging; and that Plymouth do forthwith re-assume the right they formerly had by patent to the place; that they engage and promise a due protection and equal administration of justice to all the inhabitants, English and Indians, according to the Massachusetts' engagement, and that all fair means be, with the first coveniancy, used to reduce Warwick, &c. to a due submission to the government of Plymouth; that justice may have a free course, and all grievances betwixt them and their neighbors, may be satisfied and removed. But if they refuse, that then, the just and wholesome advice of the Honorable Committee of Parliament, concerning a jury, be forthwith duly attended, that the inhabitants of Warwick may know where they fall, and to what Government they ought to submit. But if Plymouth accept not this advice; or if the said inhabitants prove obstinate, and will neither submit to government, nor by other means, make due satisfaction for trespasses, for wrongs done to neighbors, justice must have its course. The Massachusetts or Plymouth, whom it may concern, cannot but protect and provide for the conveniences of those within their jurisdiction; in such case we think it necessary and advise, that real damages, duly proved, be levied by legal force; though with as much moderation and tenderness, as the case will permit.

At a Meeting Sept. 4, 1651, (*New-Haven.*)

The following letter was presented from the inhabitants of Warwick:

May it please this honored Committee to take knowledge, that we, the inhabitants of Shawomet, alias Warwick, having undergone divers oppressions and wrongs, amounting to great damage, since we first possessed this place, being forced thereby to seek to that honorable State of Old England for relief, which did inevitably draw great charge upon us, to the further impairing of our estates; and finding

favor for redress, we were willing to waive for that time, (in regard of the great troubles and employment that then lay on that State,) all hoter losses and wrongs, we then underwent, so that we might be re-planted in and upon that our purchased possession, and enjoy it peaceably, for time to come, without disturbance or molestation by those from whom we had formerly suffered; but, since our gracious grant from the Honorable Parliament, in re-planting of us in this place, we have been, and daily are, pressed with intolerable grievances, to the eating up of our labors and the wasting of our estates, making our lives, together with our wives' and children's bitter and uncomfortable; insomuch, that groaning under our burdens, we are constrained to make our addresses to that Honorable Parliament and State, once again, to make our just complaint against our causeless molesters, who, by themselves and their agents, are the only cause of this our re-uttering of our distressed condition: May it please therefore, this honored assembly, to take notice of this our solemn intelligence, given unto you as the most public authorized society appertaining unto, and instituted in the United Colonies, whom our complaints do concern, that we are now preparing ourselves, with all convenient speed, for old England, to make our grievances known again to that State, which fall upon us by reason that the order of Parliament of England concerning us, hath not been observed, nor the enjoyment of our granted privileges permitted to us: That we are, as it were, bought and sold, from one patent and jurisdiction to another.

In that, we have been prohibited and charged to quit this place, since the order of Parliament given out and known to the contrary.

In that, we have had warrants sent us, to summon us to the Massachusetts court, and officers employed amongst us, to that purpose.

In that, these barbarous Indians about us, with evil minded English mixed amongst us, under pretence of some former personal subjection to the Government of the Massachusetts, countenancing them, cease not to kill our cattle, offer violence to our families, vilify authority of Parliament vouchsafed to us; justifying their practices, with many menaces and threatenings, as being under the protection of the Massachusetts.

In that, we are restrained, and have been this seven or

eight years past, of common commerce in the country; and that only for matters of conscience.

In that, our estates formerly taken from us, remain yet unrestored, with these additions thereunto.

These, and the like, are the grounds of our complaints; with our serious desires, that you be pleased to take notice of them, as our solemn intelligence given hereof, that, as yourselves shall think meet, you may give further seasonable intelligence to your several colonies whom it may concern, so that their agent or agents may have seasonable instructions to make answer; and we hereby shall acquit ourselves that we offer not to proceed in these our complaints, without giving due and seasonable notice thereof.

By me, JOHN GREENE, Jr. Clerk.
In the behalf of the town of Warwick.

Warwick, the first of September, 1651.

Upon occasion of the foregoing letter and some discourse about this business, the Commissioners for the Massachusetts presented this ensuing Declaration:

That in Anno, 1643, several complaints were made to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then met at Boston, against Samuel Gorton, and his company, and some of them of weighty and great concernment to all the jurisdictions: information was also given that the said Gorton and his company had been sent to, once and again, by the General Court of the Massachusetts, with a safe conduct both for their coming and return, that they might give answer and satisfaction wherein they had done wrong: It then came into consideration under what Government or Jurisdiction the said Gorton and his company lived; the Commissioners take notice, that the Indian Sachems, proprietors of the place, had voluntarily submitted their persons and lands sometime before, to the Government of the Massachusetts. The Commissioners of Plymouth claimed interest therein by patent, but upon such considerations as were then presented, resigned the same to the Massachusetts, with the consent and approbation of the rest of the Commissioners.

The Government of the Massachusetts having now both English and Indian right and title to the aforesaid place where Gorton and his company lived, derived to them, the Commissioners did jointly think it fit and accordingly advised the magistrates of the Massachusetts, to proceed against

them, according to what they should find just, engaging the rest of the jurisdictions to approve of and concur in the same, as if their Commissioners had been present, at the aforesaid conclusion. Upon the aforesaid grounds, the General Court of Massachusetts, brought the said Gorton and several of his company to their trial and just censure, according to the joint advice given them by the Commissioners, which have never since been disowned by any of the jurisdictions, but allowed of, by their silent approbation; though part of their censure, upon other grounds, hath hitherto been suspended, and the said Gorton and his company permitted peaceably to reside on the aforesaid lands, notwithstanding the manifold complaints, both of the English and Indians under the government of the Massachusetts, of great and insufferable injuries, by the said Gorton and his company, done both to their persons and estates; which occasioned several addresses from the Massachusetts, both by message and writing to Gorton and his company for reparation, but in vain; to the Commissioners, for counsel and advice, being unwilling to engage further, (as at first) without a joint concurrence and approbation of the other jurisdictions; but in the meantime were continually burdened with complaints from the English and Indians there under our government; and charged with breach of promise, in not righting their wrongs, and doing them justice, according to covenant.

The inhabitants of Warwick never exhibited any complaints to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, of any wrongs or injuries done them by English or Indians there; which had they done, they should have received equal justice with any other.

And when there arose a difference betwixt the Massachusetts and Plymouth, concerning the jurisdiction of the aforesaid place, the Government of Plymouth, not allowing of what their Commissioners had done therein, though for a long time they had been silent, the Commissioners of the Massachusetts referred the determination of that difference to the rest of the Commissioners at Boston, in Anno, 1649; who advised to issue the same by having a neighborly treaty, betwixt the two jurisdictions of the Massachusetts and Plymouth. Whereupon the General Court of the Massachusetts sent two deputies to the General Court of Plymouth, with commissions and instructions, to resign and submit the aforesaid lands and persons residing therein, to

the government of Plymouth, they only promising to do equal justice both to English and Indians there, according to our engagements; but the Government of Plymouth chose rather to ratify and confirm the aforesaid resignation of their Commissioners, which was accordingly done by an authentic writing, signed by the Governor, &c.

The Court of Massachusetts again demand satisfaction of Gorton and his company, but are slighted and neglected. By their Commissioners they desire advice of the rest of the Commissioners at Hartford, in Anno, 1650; and are solemnly advised, again to resign the aforesaid place and persons to Plymouth, and that Government to receive them; judging that way, in several respects, most expedient for all the jurisdictions; the Government of the Massachusetts observe the advice given, and make a second tender as aforesaid, but were refused by the Government of Plymouth. By all that hath been said, it may appear to the honored Commissioners of the several jurisdictions, and any other that may take notice thereof, that the Government of the Massachusetts have, from first to last, been always ready to hearken to the advice and counsel of the rest of the Commissioners, and to act accordingly in the case aforesaid; and have, out of their own treasury, allowed a large quantity of corn to the Indians under their government there, to keep them alive, the cattle of Gorton's company having destroyed most of theirs, rather than by force to compel them till all other means and ways of prudence for issuing these and the like differences were used, which we have done to the utmost of our power, with much patience and forbearance; but complaints are daily renewed, and subjects oppressed; our government and jurisdiction over them, slighted and contemned, and our promise and covenant both to English and Indians there, for their just protection, charged by them to be infringed and broken, to the great dishonor of God, our religion, and of our profession amongst the heathen. We, therefore, desire and entreat to know of the rest of the Commissioners, that in case we meet with opposition from the aforesaid people of Warwick, in following the advice of the Commissioners given at their last meeting at Hartford, what aid and assistance each jurisdiction will afford us, for the righting of our injured and oppressed people, and bringing delinquents to condign punishment.

To which Declaration the Commissioners for Connecticut and New-Haven, partly by way of concession, and partly by way of exposition, answered; that at a meeting of the Commissioners in 1643, divers complaints of weighty consideration, were presented from the Massachusetts colony, against Samuel Gorton and his company, concerning which no satisfaction by any fair means could be obtained; whereupon the Commissioners jointly thought fit that the magistrates of the Massachusetts, if the said company persist in their stubbornness, should proceed against them, according to what they shall find just; promising the concurrence of the Colonies in what should warrantably be done; but the Commissioners have neither received information from the Massachusetts, nor complaint from Samuel Gorton and his company, concerning these proceedings; so that they have had neither call nor means to own nor disown them. At the aforesaid meeting, Anno, 1643, a question also grew betwixt the Commissioners for the Massachusetts and Plymouth, to which of their patents that tract of land, on which Samuel Gorton and his company were settled, did appertain; each colony claimed it as part of their jurisdiction, but in the issue, the Commissioners for Plymouth consented that it should belong to the Massachusetts, from which the other Commissioners, (being neither concerned nor understanding where the right lay,) saw no cause to dissent; but since, sundry complaints at several meetings, have been brought from the Massachusetts, of injuries done by Samuel Gorton and his company, inhabitants of Warwick, to some English and Indians, subject to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and the question was again revived betwixt the Massachusetts and Plymouth, to which jurisdiction that tract of land belongeth. The Commissioners, from time to time, gave counsels of peace, according to their best present light. Anno 1649, they advised that the right of place, with other things in difference, might be issued in a neighborly treaty betwixt those two colonies, and that all offensive carriages might be suppressed: In Anno 1650, upon like complaints, they advised that the Massachusetts acquit and relinquish their claim to the forementioned tract of land, and that Plymouth reassume it, that Warwick might be placed under their jurisdiction to which it belongs, that a comfortable issue might be put to the former difference, and justice have a free passage. But if then the inhabitants of

Warwick should refuse to submit to that Government, they advised that the wholesome directions, given by the Honorable Committee of Parliament in that case be forthwith duly attended, that the inhabitants of Warwick might be convinced, and accordingly submit. And the Commissioners for Connecticut and New Haven then wrote to the Governor of Plymouth, advising thereunto. We were since informed that the Government of the Massachusetts hearkened thereunto, and offered to settle Warwick and the land in question, under Plymouth, but that Plymouth hath and still refuseth to accept them; so that offences are like to continue and increase. The commissioners, therefore, fearing inconvenience, would provide a remedy, but know not what to add to the advice given in Anno 1650, concerning trespasses, but that that which is proved be recovered, if no other means will serve but legal force, but with as much moderation as may be; lest, from a course of continued offences, further quarrels and acts of hostility should spring and grow, betwixt the inhabitants of Warwick and their forementioned neighbors.

The commissioners of Plymouth, taking knowledge of the long declaration of the Massachusetts' commissioners, collected out of pieces of passages of many years, and being unsatisfied therewith, thought meet to declare themselves, that, what was done by Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collyer, then commissioners of Plymouth, in Anno 1643, concerning the resignation up of any lands which Plymouth had interest in, was not at all in their power to resign up any part of Plymouth's jurisdiction to the Massachusetts; neither could the Massachusetts receive any such resignation, without being injurious to the third and sixth articles of confederation, if any had been made. And Mr. Winslow and Mr. Collyer have several times publicly denied, that they either did, or intended, to resign any part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth to the Massachusetts; and what right or authority the Government of the Massachusetts had to send for Samuel Gorton, inhabiting so far out of their jurisdiction, we understand not; and how just their censure, we know not; or what part of censure they have suspended, and upon what grounds, we apprehend not; and concerning any reference put to the determination of the rest of the Commissioners at Boston, in Anno 1649, the commissioners for Plymouth referred none; and what authentic writing the Governor of

Plymouth signed, the Massachusetts commissioners do not shew; but if they mean a writing signed by the Governor of Plymouth and some particular persons joining with him, bearing date the 7th of June, 1650, we the commissioners of Plymouth, for our particular persons, cannot own it; having protested against it, in the court of Plymouth, as being directly contrary to the order of the Honorable Committee of the Parliament of England, and contrary to the Articles of Confederation with the rest of the colonies.

And, whereas we are informed that the Court of the Massachusetts have lately sent out several summons or warrants, to several persons inhabiting Warwick, alias Shawomet and Pawtuxet, and have made seizure upon some of their estates, we do hereby protest against such proceedings, if any such be.

New-Haven, 16th Sept. 1651.

Plymouth.	JOHN BROWN, TIMOTHY HATHERLY.
Massachusetts.	LYMAN BRADSTREET, WILLIAM HATHORNE.
Connecticut.	EDWARD HOPKINS, ROGER DUDLEY.
New-Haven.	THEOPHILUS EATON, STEPHEN GOODYEER.

[Hazard's Hist. Col.]

No. VIII.

Letter from Inhabitants of Warwick.

To the Honored the General Court, representing the Colony of the Massachusetts, sitting in the name, and by the authority of His Royal Majesty Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, with the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; &c.

After our long continued patience and forbearance in lying under the burdens of wrongs and injuries, which you have done unto us; waiting to see when your own ingenuity would prompt and provoke you, to return unto us some responsible satisfactiion; but seeing no appearance thereof, but the continuation of oppression, in withholding our rights,

in not releasing our tedious exile; in some of yours irregularly intruding upon our lawful liberties; and in your encouraging of the Indians to oppress us intolerably to this day, presuming upon your protection therein, and threatening of us with your maintaining of them in their doings continually; and when some (out of compassion) have laid our wrongs open before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, some of the chief of you, whom we spare to name, have answered with great zeal, "Let them alone; let the Indians destroy them." Therefore, think it not much, that we are now at the last, constrained to appear before you in these our lines, to present unto you our long resented and now resolved thoughts. Our grievances we briefly reduce into these four heads; which as occasion shall serve and call for, we shall amplify, prove and express every one in their several particulars, viz:

1. Your cruel and unjust seizure upon our persons and estates, by Capt. George Cooke, Edward Johnson and Humphrey Atherton, commissionated by you with the soldiers, both English and Indians under their command; sent against us, His Majesty's subjects; who live peaceably, doing harm to no man, and far out of all your jurisdiction. Your above-said soldiers, contrary to law, in an hostile manner, broke open our houses, spoiling our bedding by lying on them in their trenches, living upon our cattle in the time of their besieging us, and driving away the rest of our great cattle, amounting to a great number, into the Massachusetts, and there disposing of them to your use. Also when we did hang out the King's colors, to signify to whom we did adhere, your soldiers shot them through and through immediately; and contrary to your Commissioners' and soldiers' agreement with us, that we should go with them as neighbors and freemen, unto the Massachusetts, to answer any thing that could be objected against us, which said agreement of ours was on purpose to save the spilling any blood, upon which we invited them into the house wherein we were besieged; they immediately upon their entrance into our said house, seized upon our arms and persons, carrying us all away as slaves and captives, leaving our houses and necessaries in them, to be pillaged by the Indians, who accordingly did destroy our goods and habitations, by fire and otherwise; our wives and children being fled into the woods and other places for safety, but in regard of hardships sus-

tained herein, to some of them it proved loss of life, and to others loss of limbs.

2. The second general head of our grievances, is, our false imprisonment for the space of one whole winter season and more, lying in chains and fetters of iron, and yet to work for our livings by the sentence of your Court, or else to be starved, according to the doctrine of the chief of your ministers, preached for the edification of the people in the same season; and when in your Court privately held, you put us upon questions concerning our religion, thinking to ensnare us, having nothing else to object against us, telling us that we answered upon life or death; we told you that we could not give you your due honor in the place where you sat; but as you were related to the King's Majesty, who had committed the same unto you; (though out of your jurisdiction, we held ourselves to stand in a neighborly relation unto you;) and therefore told you that as we acknowledged the King and his laws to be the fountain and head of your Government; and that if it were so, that you prosecuted us to take away our lives after our goods, we did then humbly make our appeal to the King's Majesty, for our trial, and could not be heard; but not having the breach of any law against us, you put it to the major vote whether we should live or die; and being our lives escaped only two votes, as some of the deputies of the General Court informed us, some of you would have it put to vote again, only the Governor answered it was the finger of God, and it was the best to let it pass as it was. Our imprisonment as abovesaid, after this was done, was a time which had many hours in it, wherein you had hope to get something against us, by one means or other; but if every hour wherein you sought this, (by our own law) answer the King's laws for such imprisonment, it will amount to some considerable account upon your score.

3. The third general head is, our causeless banishment and exile, continued upon us unto this day, which is now upon the expiration of eighteen years; not only to the disgrace of our persons, in making us appear obnoxious in the eyes of men, as though we were guilty of some notorious crimes; but also to the depriving of us of common commerce amongst men, whereby we have for so long time been hindered of the benefit of the course, opportunity and state of things in the country, in way of trade, in regard of the pla-

ces of exportation and importation of all commodities being amongst you, where we by your law may not come, upon peril of death; and yourselves know that many amongst you and some nearer to our abodes, being favored and encouraged by you, (since the time of our unjust punishment) raised their estates to the sum of many thousand pounds a man, whilst we have sat under oppressions intolerable, having things not at the second, but at the third or fourth hand, for the necessary supply of our families, to mitigate their groans, under the burdens which you have laid upon us: which groans are gone up. And yourselves know also that divers of us were in as good capacity, (if not better) to have advanced our estates as many of those who are so increased, when Captain, Lieutenant and soldiers came first against us, where yourselves had nothing to do, unless you took yourselves to be the only reformers of the world, to bring them all to the bent of your bow, as the chief of your ministers have professed; that so far as you found yourselves to have the power of the sword, you ought to subdue all, to the form of your Church and State.

4. The fourth general head of our complaint is, the great charge and expense you have put us unto, for the recovery and repossessing of our lands, which you had seized upon, as well as upon our persons and estates; banishing us from them also, though under deceitful and ambiguous terms, taking that for granted which was not true; according to other of your dealings towards us, as evidently shall appear in its due place and season; whereupon we were necessitated, for supply of our present wants, to make use of our friends beyond modesty and all ordinary courtesy, when you had cast us out of house and harbor, and place of abode, taking from us not only our goods of all sorts, which where our livelihood, but our lands also; leaving us destitute of any place wherein we might employ ourselves to sustain our wives and little ones; thinking thereby either to drive us among the Indians remote, to our ruin; or else to the Dutch Plantation, where many of our English people, men, women and children were so inhumanly massacred, immediately before, (by the barbarous Indians in those parts,) which was one effect of your banishing them from among yourselves. In this case, we, being deprived of all liberty to pass through any of your plantations, to go for England, to make known unto the King's Majesty; being put

in trust (also) with the chief Sachems about us, who earnestly desired to submit their persons and lands unto His Majesty's protection, seeing yourselves laying claim unto and prosecuting by the sword, for such large dominions in these parts, perceiving that we were delivered out of your hands, beyond all expectation, and that we professed ourselves to be subjects and servants to the Great Sachem of Old England. We were upon this twofold occasion forced to travel to the Dutch plantation, to take shipping; where we lay long upon expense before an opportunity could be had; then transporting ourselves into Holland, we lay long there again for a passage into England; where arrived, your friends and agents did what they could, to hinder the dispatch of our business, thinking thereby to wear us out in the want of means to maintain ourselves, some of your chief friends, both in England and also of this country, being of the Committee to which our business was referred, by which means, the time was much prolonged before a termination of the justice and equity of our cause. And yourselves know that the said Committee were pleased to take notice (in their letter concerning the re-possessing of our plantation) of our modesty and moderation, in that we did not for that present time urge or sue for reparations of other wrongs we underwent, because of the troublesome times in those days. But we were willing to stay till a better and more fit season offered itself; only the re-possessing of our plantations was of present necessity, whereupon we might labor with our hands for the preservation of our wives and children; which they most willingly granted unto us, seeing that justice and equity called for the same. The accomplishment thereof in our loss of time, expense of money and arrearages, our families were forced in our absence, (which absence was not only from our families in our voyage for England, but also from our lands from which you had banished us) was no small charge, for such as you had left naked of all manner of help, thinking thereby to tread us under foot forever, and our children after us, as such as should never be able to use any means for any satisfaction hereafter. If the great cattle you took from us, be well calculated according to ordinary increase for so many years, as you have the use and benefit of them, it will amount to a very considerable sum, besides all other charge and detriment; and we understand that now is a time of repairing of losses and righting of

wrongs, formerly done in our native country, where we doubt not our wrongs will be taken into consideration among the rest. And though yourselves would not allow our humble appeal to the Royalty of the late King, yet we hope you will not hinder our humble addresses unto His Majesty that now is.

Wherefore considering the premises as things shall be explained and amplified according to the particulars necessarily comprised, which you cannot be ignorant of; and being that we respect you as gentlemen of the same country out of which we came, also as neighbors here in this remote wilderness; and respecting you as wise and understanding men; we are, in the truth and sincerity of our hearts, (for neighborly peace and society in these His Majesty's dominions) willing to propose unto your judicious and serious consideration, viz:

That if, in your judgments, you shall be pleased to propound unto us such a plausible way (which may stand with His Majesty's authority and not prejudice nor demean our cause) for a home composure in these parties, of the aforesaid differences, unto moderate satisfaction, we shall most willingly and freely address ourselves thereunto.

Otherwise, take knowledge, that our resolution is, with all convenient speed, to make our humble addresses to the King's Majesty, in way of petition and particular declaration thereupon, that His Majesty will be pleased to determine the matter by his council, or whom His Majesty shall be pleased to appoint.

We understand that yourselves have received good encouragements from His Majesty of late, which is our encouragement also, that he will the more willingly take the cause into consideration. Take knowledge, therefore, that we do, by these presents, give you seasonable notice of our intended proceedings about the premises, that so you may be ready to make your best defence. And of this warning given unto you, we keep a copy, testified unto by sufficient witness. It being a seasonable time now, fitting your opportunity; for we understand that your agent has lately come over out of England, and is shortly to return thither again; so that you may give him full instructions for the management of your cause. This also you may be pleased to take cognizance of, that if you put us unto the prosecution of our intended resolution, in our humble addresses to

His Majesty, the damage which we shall charge upon you will amount to a very great sum, as by visible demonstrations and rational and undeniable calculation and account, it shall appear; besides our false imprisonment, and wrongs done by Indians, in killing our cattle, planting and wearing out our best land, pilfering and purloining our goods, &c. for the space of so many years, whom we expected to be removed without delay. If we hear not from you speedily concerning the premises, then we take it for granted, that you put us to the prosecution of our abovesaid resolutions, and intend to give us a meeting in England, for the intent and purpose as aforesaid. We conclude, with our desire to know of you, whether you count us free in point of egress end regress in any of your plantations or jurisdictions, to go about these or any other of our lawful employments, without disturbance, as free subjects of his Majesty in his dominions, carrying ourselves (as in our constant custom and practice we have done) according unto the the rules of humanity and sobriety. And if we have not a speedy answer from you in this point also, we shall consider you hold us still as under the bondage of a causeless banishment; and shall seek to accommodate ourselves elsewhere, for transportation, to obtain redress. And so we take our leave, and remain, though poor, yet your loving and peacable neighbours.

From Warwick, in the colony of Providence Plantations, this 22d of August, 1661.

JOHN GREENE,
RICHARD WATERMAN,
RANDALL HOLDEN,
JOHN WICKES,
SAMUEL GORTON,
RICHARD CARDER,
JOHN POTTER.

For the Honored, the General Court of the Massachusetts, present these, unto the Honorable Governor and Magistrates authorised for transacting all public affairs, to open and act accordingly.

[Mass. Records.]

No. IX.

Gorton and others' Memorial to the King's Commissioners.

To the High and Honorable Court of Commissioners, appointed by the King's Majesty, as the Supreme Authority in these parts of America called New England, with other places adjacent.

The humble petition of Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, John Wickes and John Greene, in the behalf of themselves and others of the town of Warwick, humbly sheweth:

That whereas your humble petitioners have been evilly intreated by divers of our countrymen in these parts, more especially by them of the Massachusetts, without any fault of ours, that we know or can be made to appear, only they took offence, that we could not close with them in their church orders, neither could we approve of their civil course, in divers respects, as to execute the laws in their own names, not expressing the name and authority of the King; also swearing men to fidelity in like sort; not admitting of appeals to His Majesty in any case, and exercising their power beyond their jurisdiction and bounds, whereunto the King had limited them, as sole lords of the whole country; your humble petitioners, having removed themselves out of all their jurisdiction, by purchasing a tract of land where now we live. When they had preached us in their pulpits to be gross heretics, and men not worthy to live on the earth; to prepare their people to judge us worthy of death, then they sent out against us one Capt. George Cooke, his Lieut. Humphrey Atherton, commissionated with a band of soldiers, that if we would not relinquish our religion, which we had learned in our constant frequenting the public assemblies in our native country, or else to put us to the sword; whom your petitioners for a time resisted only defensively. At the last, upon honorable terms, we concluded to go with them into the Massachusetts, to see what all the country could allege against us at their General Court which was then in being. But their Captain being entertained in a way of friendship, with his Lieutenant and soldiers, into our hold, when they saw how few men we were, falsifying their covenant, they seized upon us as captives, and carried us all as slaves, into the Massachusetts; and when we came before the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, we

told him how the Captain had wronged us, he answered, whatever the Captain said, it was his intent to have us captives; and thereupon sent us to the common jail, where we lived of our own charge, as long as what money we had lasted, and then were put to grind at the mill, prepared in the prison for that purpose, for the prison's poor allowance. And when they had tried us upon life and death, denying our appeal to the King, and could find nothing wherein we were guilty, and that in a private Court, where none was permitted to hear but magistrates and ministers, who before had resolved upon our death, in case we would not falsify our faith to God and the King; and when they had put it to the major vote, whether your petitioners should live or die, our lives escaping by two votes, then they confined us to several places in the colony, where the magistrates lived, with charge not to speak of any thing about which we had been tried, unless to some elder, or one licensed under a magistrate's hand to discourse with us, and to keep this confinement and this charge, under pain of death; the contrary proved before a magistrate, we were to die without further trial; putting bolts and chains upon us, and to work for our living; and so we continued a whole winter season. Afterwards they released us, by banishment out of all their jurisdictions, and from our own lands, lawfully purchased, where now we live; and that upon pain of death. The number of great cattle which they took from us, was about four score head, which upon rational account, according to ordinany increase since that time, will amount to divers thousands of pounds, as hath been tried in a small parcel privately taken at that time, by some of their subjects in this colony, without any commission from them, and were accordingly cast at law, upon the ground of common increase. The rest of our cattle they lived upon, at the time of their beseiging us, having many of their Indians joined with them, against us, leaving our houses and necessaries in them, as pillage for their subjects, both Indians and English, in this colony, whom they had drawn away from their Narragansett Sachems, and this Government, to become their subjects and instruments to work their wills upon us, and under the fallacy and irregularity of the subjection of these revolting people, they have maintained the Indians upon our lands to this day, planting our best ground, burning up our wood, killing our cattle, pilfering and purloining our goods, breaking open

our houses, offering violence to the inhabitants, resisting the King's officers violently and riotously; and we can have no redress, although it be contrary to order given concerning us, by the Lords and Commons in the High Court of Parliament, to all the colonies and governments about us, which orders, your petitioners have to show.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray, that you will be pleased to take our distresses into your Honors' breasts, so as some speedy course may be taken for redress, and that some responsible and correspondent satisfaction may be made, as your Honors shall think meet and convenient, according to the rules of justice and equity; and your petitioners shall become most humble and earnest suitors and petitioners to Almighty God, on your behalf, as long as we are.

SAMUEL GORTON,
JOHN WICKES,
RANDALL HOLDEN,
JOHN GREENE.

March 4, 1664–5. [Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.]

No. X.

The Answer of Massachusetts to the preceding Petition, the 30th of May, 1665.

An Apologetical Reply to an invective Petition, exhibited to His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners, by Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, John Wickes and John Greene; and bearing date, March 4, 1664–5; humbly tendered by the General Court of His Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts, in New-England.

This Court having been advertised by their Committee, empowered, humbly, to treat with His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners viva voce, and to make report of their proposals, that the said Commissioners did urge a necessity of a recognizance of some particular cases, grounded upon several complaints exhibited to them by divers of His Majesty's subjects in these parts; and in particular, by Samuel Gorton, Randall Holden, John Wickes, and John Greene, and divers others of the inhabitants of Warwick, applying themselves by way of petition, unto His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners, as aforesaid, for redress, and

upon perusal of a copy of the said petition, perceiving it to be the main design of the petitioners, to abuse His Majesty's grace and favor; and by misrepresentation, if it had been possible, to prostrate his credit to the belief of that which is not to be believed; his princely wisdom putting him beyond a capacity of such abuses. As also to give unto His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners, and this Court, much needless trouble, by a tedious recollection of antiquated matters, and an ungrateful investigation into the ruins of time, after things hard to be found, is not less by the many revolutions of this generation, which is almost passed away since that transaction; therefore, we have accounted it our duty to God, in order to the vindication of his glory, our duty to His Majesty, in order to his satisfaction, and the preservation of his honor, by the maintenance of his authority, which by his royal charter he hath betrusted this Court withal, to be improved for the preservation of the peace, and promotion of the public weal of His Majesty's good subjects of this colony; as also that we may purge the Government, from those foul imputations of disloyalty which, by that petition they have aspersed it withal; we say we are bound by an obligation to God, our King and our country, humbly to offer this reply to that petition; which we shall endeavor; first, by comparing the petition with themselves; secondly, with their principles; thirdly, with the whole transaction.

Samuel Gorton, the person in whom the sparks of that spirit of malignity first kindled into the inflaming of the malignant passions of many other malcontented persons, which he blew up to the blaze of contention, industriously adding fuel; which had its dangerous tendency, to the utter consumption of both our civil and ecclesiastical constitutions, in whom, principally, we suppose the same spirit hath been cherished and kept alive unto this day. He seems to be incapable of any other character, but that which his demerits gives him; which he long since hath received the impression of, by the press, in a book printed and published and presented to our superiors in our vindication, viz. that he was a man whose spirit is stark drunk with blasphemies and insolences, a corrupter of the truth, a disturber of the peace, wherever he comes. This character he hath branded himself withal, both by his words and actions, which doth appear by his own letters to this Government, and the let-

ters of others concerning him, long since exhibited to the view of the world. In that foresaid book, the penalties inflicted for his intolerable insolencies, turbulencies and heterodoxies, in at least three of His Majesty's Colonies in New-England, doth demonstrate him to be a man so unruly as not fit to live in any civil or Christian society, he having been whipped in Plymouth Patent, whipped and banished from Rhode-Island, imprisoned and only banished out of the Massachusetts; having before also endangered the ruin of another new plantation, called Providence, their lamentable complaints, their importunate cries to the Massachusetts for help against him, do appear by their letters, in print, under their hands, in the aforesaid book, the one from Mr. Williams, the then patriot of the place, who begins in these words, "Mr. Gorton having foully abused high and low at Aquetneck, is now bewitching and be-maddening poor Providence;" and the other letter begins thus, " We, the inhabitants of the town abovesaid, having fair occasion, counting it meet and necessary, to give you a true intelligence of the insolent and riotous carriage of Samuel Gorton and his company," and in the conclusion they add, speaking of Gorton, "first pleading necessity, or to maintain wife and family, but afterwards boldly to maintain lusts, like savage brute beasts, they put no manner of difference between houses, goods, lands, wives, lives, blood; if it may, therefore, please you, of gentle courtesy, and for the preservation of humanity and mankind, to consider our condition, and lend your neighbors a helping hand, and send us such assistance, &c." Thus the cries, or rather outcries, of poor, oppressed Providence. Finally, when he had wearied out Plymouth, Rhode-Island, and Providence, under pretence of purchase of land of an Indian prince, (not the proprietor, but an usurper,) they took possesion of a tract of land, belonging of right to the Indians, where their carriages also were so insolent, that it was intolerable to the poor oppressed natives, who also were compelled to crave the aid and protection of the Massachusetts. How inconsistent the conditions and dispositions of these persons are with their present petition, wherein they highly pretend to a conscientious severity in matters of religion, and insist upon it, as the only ground of offence from whence those controversies arose, and their tenderness of conscience, the only delinquency charged upon them, we humbly offer to consideration.

Secondly. Compare this petition with their own principles, sufficiently notorious to the world, not only by their own public professions and practices, but also by the forementioned book; and therein, first, we shall animadvert a little upon their principles of religion, if we may without an abuse, make use of the word religion, in the expression of, or in conjunction with, their irreligious and blasphemous tenets, which they have both by their words and writings given large and ungrateful opportunity unto us to understand, if we may suppose the dialect wherein those doctrines of devils are taught, rationally intelligible to any understanding, not acted by the same spirit of error; their very language being accommodated to the expressions of the deepest mysteries of iniquity, and to compose a system of the most dangerous and damning heterodoxes, consisting of all deceiveableness of unrighteousness; and so fitted to deceive, especially in such times, wherein the vengeance of God hath seized upon the intellectuals of men; God, out of just judgment, giving some men up, to believe lies, that they might be damned.

A brief collection of the principles of these men, is taken out of their own letters printed in the foresaid book, and in their own words. Churches, say they, are devised platforms, and the wisdom of man is that which gives the whole being of churches and commonwealth: of ministers, say they, that to make their call mediate and not immediate, is to make a nullity of Christ, to crucify Christ, to put him to open shame; and that such ministers are magicians; as also, that sermons of God's ministers are tales, lies and falsehoods; of baptism, behold the vanity and abomination of your baptism, &c. The Lord's Supper, they call it, your dished up dainties, turning the juice of a silly grape that perisheth, into the blood of Christ, by the cunning skill of your magicians, which do make mad and drunk so many in the wo ld. Of repentance, they affirm to this purpose, that in a way of compunction and sorrow, for a Christian to seek for consolation from Christ, that this to make the Son of God, Belial, and Seighnirim, the Devil himself. Of our Lord Jesus Christ, one of them most blasphemously said, in open court, when asked what was that Christ which was born of the Virgin and suffered under Pilate, that he was a semblance, picture or shadow of what was and is done actually and substantially in Christains; therefore they said of minis-

ters, they are wizards and necromancers, who raise a shadow without a substance, viz. to make Christ to be slain in types since the world began: they further affirmed in open court, that as the image of God in Adam, was Christ, (for God, said they, had but one image,) so that the loss of this image by man, was the death of Christ. Oh! astonishing blasphemies! the very thoughts of which, cannot but surprise the heart of any sensible Christian with horror. They are, indeed, clouds without rain, but clouds full of the most pestiferous exhalations, exhaled from that mist which is risen out of the bottomless pit, and condensed by their own natural corruptions breaking forth in claps and flashes of thundering and lightning passions; for it is observable, that in all those transactions ,they manage the weapons of the prince of darkness, with the utmost expression of their malignity and enmity against churches, ordinances, magistrates and ministers; and therefore we may not fear also to say, against God's glory. How inconsistent the principles of these men are, in matters of religion; with this, wherein they pretend to be sufferers for the cause of religion, and that they were urged to the relinquishing of their religion, of that religion which they had learned in their constant attending on the public assemblies in our native country, which also deserves an animadversion, that they should put such an indignity upon the sound and wholesome doctrine of the churches of England, as once to mention it in conjunction with their damnable heresies, much more, with impudency, to make use of the doctrine of England to patronise their blasphemies, especially after they had published most of these black and dark doctrines in their writings to the world, and openly professed them with their mouths, before many witnesses; it seems to argue, that they are men void of shame or fear. Again, they assert in their petition, that they were likely to be tempted upon peril of life, upon pain of death, to desert their faith to God, which, what their faith was, appears by the premises. We say, again, therefore, how inconsistent the principles of these men are in religion, to this their petition, we humbly offer to consideration. Secondly. We also state their principles in civils in comparison with their petition. Their principles of civility or rather incivility, they have largely expressed also, partly by their writings and partly by their words, to the then Government and magistrates of this His Majesty's Colony of the

Massachusetts, in the management of that transaction, a collection of their reproachful and reviling speeches, &c. hath long since been published to the world, in the aforesaid book. They were, indeed so voluble and voluminous in their railings and revilings of Governor, Magistrates and Government, that to epitomise their railing accusations, will suffice to demonstrate to the world, what spirit they were influenced by. They scornfully called our magistrates' letter to them, an irregular note; they slyly called them the seed of the ancient mother, i. e. of the enmity of the Devil; that they delighted daily to eat of the forbidden fruit; they compared them to dogs, in re-assuming their vomit into its form concocted, by receiving Cole and Arnold under their protection; that they renounce and reject Christ; that they were so far from yielding subjection to Christ, as Cole and Arnold were from being honorable good subjects, whom they called the shame of religion, debauched, inhuman Nabals, ill-bred, apostatized, felonious persons, &c.; that the magistrates were Jews in the flesh, stout maintainers of the man of sin; that professed clemency and mercy, was, as much as in them lay, to send soul and body to Sheol (grave or hell) without redress or hope of recovery; that their ways are wicked and to be abhorred, because in their professed course, the two witnesses are slain by them; that the light appearing among them, was the light of Balaam, &c.; that the magistrates set up Seighnirim, which, as they interpret, is fear and horror of the Devil, by which they hope to be saved; they call the General Court the great Idol General, whose pretended equity of distributing justice is a mere device of man, according to the sleights of Satan, and call them a generation of vipers; they tell the Court, that they are not a cup full for their appetite, but a cup of trembling, either to make them vomit up their own eternal shame, or else to make them burst asunder with their fellow confessor, Judas Iscariot. This is not above half the opprobrious speeches they then abused the Court withal, but this may suffice to demonstrate how much they were actuated by that spirit, unto whom the angel said, The Lord rebuke thee. Neither may it be supposed that these barbarisms were extracted out of them by any unjust provocative, in the frenzy of passion, and so that those expressions proceeded only from a principle of enmity against our magistrates and ministers; for when they were in the best

capacity to be treated with civility, (if at all they were in such a capacity,) yet then they resolutely and deliberately maintained the opinion of anarchy, allowing only a distribution of justice in a way of parity, by the fraternity, without superiority or inferiority; therefore, in open Court, they did seem to condemn all the magistrates; because every one did not sit there to judge as a brother, because to be a brother, and consequently to be a co-heir with Christ, is a higher sphere than to be a civil officer. Secondly, they expressly affirmed that the office to minister justice belongs only to the Lord, (and that therefore, from this instance of Herod, men make themselves gods, which themselves interpret to be only from the gods of this world, and therefore flat against God) by ruling over the bodies and estates of men; affirming that to set up men to be judges of good and evil, for which all men are set up in that kind, that this is re-acting that ancient spirit of the serpent, if ye eat, ye shall be as gods; therefore, say they, that to choose men honorable, wise, and of good report, &c. or else they may not rule, &c.; this, they say is of man, by man, and a putting the second witness to death, that is to say, the death or weakness of Christ; or, in plain English, it is a killing of Christ. Thirdly. They affirmed that they who can create, make void and remove offices and officers at their pleasure, are of that evil one, i. e. the Devil and not of Jesus Christ, but of Shedim, that master and destroyer of mankind forever &c.; they said, that men destroyed the Holy One of Israel &c. and if men acknowledge that Christ rules on earth only by his deputies, vicegerents and lieutenants, that is, by persons invested with civil authority and office, therefore, they said again, that none shall see Christ come into his kingdom, with comfort, until the power and authority of man appear to be as the building of Babel; they add further, that a man may as well be a slave to his belly, and make that his god, as be a vassal to his own species or kind; that these are their principles as to matters of civil government, appears by the extractions of their own letters, compared with their speeches in Court; also, as it is to be seen in the aforesaid book. Now, how inconsistent these principles are, with their petition, wherein they represent themselves as being very much offended and very deeply affected with the least omission of formalities in the administration of justice, and as if one principal ground of the controversy, had

been our disloyalty; whereas it appears, that their principal design upon us, was to trample under foot His Majesty's authority in this Government, here established upon his royal charter; but also express their despite unto all dominion, and to speak of dignities as common enemies to all government, in Church and Commonwealth. How likely these men were to die martyrs to the faith of God and the King, which they pretend to, and how inconsistent (we say again) their principles were to this petition, we humbly offer also to consideration.

Again, we also compare this petition, with the whole transaction, in the examination of which it is to be found, that it will appear, that there is as little of verity in this their petition to His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners, as there was of Christianity or civility in their letters and speeches to the General Court; for first, whereas they insinuate that they have been evilly entreated of their countrymen, only in special hinting them of the Massachusetts, they charge His Majesty's good subjects in his other colonies, with injury and injustice; whereby it appears, they were common enemies to all His Majesty's good subjects in other colonies where they lived, and that the whole country was compelled to stand upon their defence against them, as disturbers of the King's peace every where; whereas they boldly affirm, that a non-compliance with us of the Massachusetts, in matters ecclesiastical and civil, was the only delinquency which they were charged withal by this Government; asserting their own innocency as to matters of fact, and waiving any charge on that account. It is not to be believed, but to be rejected as a manifest untruth, an astonishing impudency to preface their petition with such an inconsistency. The true state of the controversy hath been already printed in the foresaid book, which appears to be this: Samuel Gorton, having by his high affronts, which he had put upon the Governments of Plymouth, Rhode-Island, and poor Providence, put himself out of a capacity unto a civil correspondency with either civil or ecclesiastical society in either of those colonies, and having associated and assimilated twelve or fourteen persons to himself, they were ordered to find a place in the woods, where they might situate themselves, and live according to their own principles of anarchy, and yet withal that their vanity might give them opportunity to manage

their own malignity, unto the disturbance of their neighbors; to this end, they treated with a great Sachem, Miantonomi, about the purchase of a tract of land, which the said Sachem pretended a title to, though it did indeed belong to another Sachem, viz. Pomham, who, partly awed by the great Sachem, and partly betrayed by Gorton, set his hand to a writing, not knowing what he did, and utterly refusing to take any pay of Gorton, notwithstanding took possession of the land, and began to exercise his former insolencies more injuriously and more imperiously, both against English and Indians, than formerly; hereupon, both English and Indians make deplorable complaints to this Government, crave, yea, cry out for their protection against the said Gorton and his company's violence. The Court send for the foresaid Indian Sachems, and on examination find, both by English and Indian testimony, that Miantonomi was only an usurper, and had had no title to the foresaid lands; and out of pity, received these two inferior Sachems, their subjects and lands to protection, as also some of the English at Providence; hereupon the Court sent to Gorton, advising of him and his company either to come or send some persons to make out their title to the land which they possessed and offered them safe conduct. They scorned the Court's letters, returned scoffs and blasphemies. Some time after, the Court sent two of their own members, with letters, to treat them civilly and to persuade them to come, promising them safe conduct again; but they entertained these messengers as they had done the former, threatening to whip one of them; yet notwithstanding, a third time, the Court sent Commissioners to treat with them, to hear their allegations and to receive their answers, and to take satisfaction, if tendered; and so leave them in peace. These Commissioners were guarded with forty men; and in case they should persist in their obstinacy, had instructions to bring them by force. In the way, as our Commissioners were going to them, they were met with divers provoking, daring, domineering papers sent from them. Our Commissioners arriving, make their proposals; they standing upon their defence, our Commissioners forced them to surrender, and brought them away. This was the true and real ground of the Court's proceedings with them, thus far; and yet these men have the confidence, or rather, the impudence to say, in the frontispiece of their petition, "without any fault

of ours that we know," which argues that they are so prodigiously blinded and hardened, that they account not any of their outrages, riotous, injurious carriages; or behold in matters of fact, which by all the Court's messengers and letters to them they were charged with and convinced of, deservedly called, faults. It is acknowledged that in the transaction of matter, they made themselves guilty of such horrid and high-handed blasphemy, against God and Christ and the worship of God, that the Court judged themselves bound in duty, not to let them go out of their custody, without taking cognizance thereof, as a capital delinquency; after a fair trial, in which they maintained their blasphemies and added more, the Court, for the prevention of spreading their blasphemous doctrines, imposed the penalty of confinement, to several towns, during the Court's pleasure, and shortly after banished them; which we suppose, had they been tried in any other of His Majesty's courts of justice, would have undergone a penalty not exceeding the merit of the offence.

Secondly. They say, that their offence was a non-compliance with us, in our civil course of adminstration; when it plainly appears, from the premises, that they did bid defiance to all civil government; accounting it a slavery and vassalage to be subject to any of their own kind or species, as they say.

Thirdly. They say, that before they were brought down, our ministers preached them gross heretics, and men not worthy to live upon the earth, to prepare the people to judge them worthy of death; this we take only as an expression of their continued enmity to the ministry, a plain calumny and untruth.

Fourthly. They charge our Commissioners with breach of covenant, in not keeping those honorable terms, which they yielded upon, which also is a flat untruth; for the grand condition, which they insisted upon in their surrender, it was, that they should go down with our Commissioners, unbound, and have safe conduct; which they had, not being bound but in that respect, as much at liberty in the journey as any of ours.

Fifthly. They complain of hard fare and hard work, which we suppose it may be ranked with the former, for they had their diet from the cook's, as good meat and drink as the place afforded; and if they were sentenced to grind in

the mill, which we do not remember that they were ever put upon it, but found better entertainment.

Sixthly. They complain of oppression by taking away cattle, &c. The cattle taken were not near sufficient to defray their charges, but some part of it has since been paid out of the country treasury, upon the country account.

Seventhly. They complain, we maintain the Indians upon their land, planting, burning, killing, &c. unto this day, which is also notoriously not so; for whilst those Indians were under this Government, if they had been so injurious to our own countrymen, the Court would soon have afforded redress to any complaint, and have provided as much as in them lay, for their indemnity; and further the Government here have, for causes them thereunto moving, many years since, withdrawn their protection both from the English and Indians in those parts; therefore, they do not maintain them to this day. Hence it appears notoriously, to any impartial eye, that this petition, for the most part of it; is a composition of ———.

Lastly. Whereas they charge this Government with exercising power beyond their jurisdiction and bounds, &c. making themselves lords of the land, &c. First, we reply, not sole lords of the land, for we have studiously endeavored to keep His Majesty's peace, both with and in, all His Majesty's other Colonies here settled and established in an orderly way of government, maintaining always an amicable correspondency as their fellow subjects; and we solemnly profess, that not the least ground of this transaction with Gorton and his company, was the preservation of the public weal and peace in His Majesty's other Colonies; and therefore not the sole lords of the land; too peremptory an expression to be presented in a petition to His Majesty's Honorable Commissioners; which we suppose their Honors could not choose but to take notice of, at least as an extravagancy of speech. Secondly. We reply that although that tract of land which they possessed, were not within our line, yet it was, upon very strong probabilities, supposed to be within the bounds of Plymouth patent, their bounds not being then precisely determined; and therefore this Government, having taken the protection of the Indians of that land, they desired this Government to make provision for their indemnity, and wholly transferred the matter to us. Thirdly. We reply, that all the Commissioners of His Maj-

esty's United Colonies, taking notice of Gorton and his company, as common enemies to the public weal, looking upon their actings to be of very dangerous consequence, thought it necessary so far to concern themselves in it, as to pass an act whereby to encourage this Government to correct the insolency of the said Gorton and his company; which act of theirs was long since printed and published in the aforesaid book, bearing date, September 7, 1643; in which act, is this expression, "The Commissioners for the United Colonies think fit that the magistrates in the Massachusetts proceed with them according to what they find just, and the rest of the jurisdictions will approve and concur in what shall be so warrantably done, as if the Commissioners had been present at the Conclusions, &c." Thus the Commissioners, whereby all the Governments concern themselves in the same common design against the common enemy. Fourthly. Their professed principles of anarchy, before mentioned, with their unruly rejection of all Governments, rendered them incapable to be proceeded withal in any other way of justice; for if they did at any time mention appeals, it was rather to escape present penalty, than out of any real devotion to government, unto which they had openly professed themselves to be enemies. Fifthly. The said Gorton and company declaring themselves open enemies to all governments, and in a more especial manner not being ashamed nor afraid to declare themselves to be at open enmity with this Government of His Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts, and growing up to a formidable height, as to a capacity to manage their principles into dangerous attempts, not only upon this, but other His Majesty's Colonies, which they had, to their utmost, already done, especially there being in those times so much the predominancy of a spirit of anarchy in the world; we say, this considered, which was the true state of things in those times, what could we do less, in defence of His Majesty's interest with us, and our own peace, than to endeavor, the timely suppression of a growing mischief of such dangerous tendency; His Majesty's Royal Charter encouraging of us to make our defence, by all lawful ways and means whatsoever, against all such persons who shall attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of this, His Majesty's plantation. Again, one special end of the granting of our charter, was the conversion of the natives, in

these terms, "Whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so religiously, peaceably governed, as their good life and orderly conversation, may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge of the true God and Saviour of mankind, and the Christian faith; which in our Royal intention, and the adventurers' free profession is the principal end of this plantation;" this being one principal end in His Majesty's royal intention, what could this Government do less, in duty to God and His Majesty, but in pursuance of this so high an end, improve His Majesty's authority committed them, at least for the protection of the poor natives from the oppression of such of our nation, whose principles and practices were, and still are, a scandal and opprobrium of our religion, amongst the poor natives, and this also, when they did so importunately solicit our help. We only add, that many, if not most, of those who were personally concerned in that affair, are passed off the stage of action; and have, we doubt not, many of them given a comfortable account, as to the sincerity of their intentions for God's glory and this country's good, in that action; and ourselves surviving, when we most solemnly revolve and turn over these matters long ago passed, together with the several circumstances of those times and things, we cannot but judge, that their offences were of so high a nature, that their penalty was rather beneath than above the merit of their offences; did we not so believe and judge, we should not presume to exhibit this reply.

If his Majesty, notwithstanding, by his princely wisdom observe any circumstantial error in this matter, we hope out of his princely grace, he will indulge it; and still, by his propitious aspect, countenance and encourage his faithful subjects here, in the suppression of such insolent and turbulent spirits; that so we may quietly and peaceably live, to fear God and honor the King.

The magistrates have passed this, with reference to the consent of their brethren, the deputies hereto.

EDWARD RAWSON, Sec'ry.

William Torrey, Cleric.

[Mass. Records.]

[The only answer that I have been able to find to the foregoing Petition and Reply, is in the following letter, copied from Chalmers Political Annals, page 196.]

Mr. Gorton:—

These gentlemen of Boston would make us believe, that they verily think, that the King has given them so much power in their charter, to do unjustly, that he reserved none for himself, to call them to an account for doing so. In short, they refuse to let us hear complaints against them; so that, at present, we can do nothing in your behalf. But I hope, shortly, to go for England; where, if God bless me, thither; I shall truly represent your sufferings and your loyalty.

Your assured friend,

GEO. CARTWRIGHT.

Boston, 26 May, 1665.

No. XI.

Letter from Samuel Gorton to Nathaniel Morton.

Nathaniel Morton:—

I understand you have lately put forth a book of records. But this I know, that I am unjustly enrolled; because I was never free, nor member incorporate, in your body, or any of your territories; therefore I may not refrain to make a short return, only as it concerns myself.

And first, your peremptory judging of one you know not, for I am a stranger to you.

My second word concerns your eminency, in assuming authority to canonize and put into the number of saints, such men when they are dead, who in their life time, were persecutors, especially you have acknowledged them to be such yourself; as also to thrust down under your feet, and make as brute beasts, having only hope in this present life, such as are known to be fearers of God, worshiping him instantly, day and night; though they be not acknowledged to be such by some particular sectaries as yourself.

A third word I have to say, concerns your record. Mistake me not. I meddle not with your records, further than they concern myself. I then affirm, that your record is fetched from him who is a liar from the beginning—in that you declare, that I have spoken words, or to that effect, that there is no state or condition of mankind after this life. I do verily believe, that there is not a man, woman or child

upon the face of the earth, that will come forth and say, that ever they heard any such words come from my mouth; and I appeal to God, the judge of all secrets, that there was never such a thought entertained in my heart.

And whereas you say, I am become a sordid man in my life; I dare be so bold as to lay my conversation among men, to the rules of humanity, with any minister among you, in all the passages of my life, which God hath brought me through, from my youth unto this day, that it hath been as comely and innocent as his. Whose ox or whose ass have I taken; or when or where have I lived upon other men's labors, and not wrought with my own hands, for things honest in the sight of men, to eat my own bread?

A fourth word I have to say to your pamphlet, concerns the stuff, as you sottishly and contemptuously call it. You may be ashamed to put pen to paper, to publish any thing to the world in shew of religion, not acknowledging the letter of the scripture, but deriding it rather. For the rest of those expressions which you charge upon us, you falsely apply them. We never called sermons of salvation, tales; nor any ordinances of the Lord, an abomination or vanity; nor holy ministers, necromancers; we honor, reverence and practise these things. And, however you term me a belcher out of errors, I would have you know, that I hold my call to preach the Gospel of Christ, not inferior to any minister in this country, though I was not bred up in the schools of human learning, and I bless God, that I never was; lest I had been drowned in pride and ignorance, through Aristotle's principles and other heathen philosophers, as millions are, and have been, who ground their preaching of the Gospel, upon human principles, to the falsifying of the word of God, in the ruin of men's souls. Yet this I doubt not of, but that there hath been as much true use made of the languages, within these twenty years past, in the place wherein I live, as hath been in any church in New-England: I know the manner of your preaching well.

When I was last in England, through importunity I was persuaded to speak the word of God publicly, in divers and eminent places as any were then in London, as also about London, and places more remote; many times the ministers of the places being hearers, and sometimes many together, at appointed lectures in the country. I have spoken in the audience of all sorts of people and personages under the ti-

tle of a Bishop or a King, and was invited to speak in the presence of such as had the title of Excellency, and was lovingly embraced wherever I came, in the word uttered, with the most eminent Christians in the place; and for leave-taking at our departure, not unlike the ancient custom of the saints on record in the Holy Scripture; and I dare say, as evident testimony of God's power going forth with his word spoken, manifested, as ever any in New-England had; publicly and immediately after the word delivered, the people giving thanks to God that ever such a word came to be uttered among them, with entreaty for stay and further manifestation, in as eminent places as are in England, where myself did know that Doctors of note had formerly preached, and at that time, such as had more honor put upon them than ordinarily preachers have, who gave me the call thither, in way of loving and christian fellowship, the like abounding in the hearers: Therefore I know not, with what New-England is leavened or spirited. Indeed, once in London, three or four malignant persons caused me to be summoned before a Committee of Parliament, because I was not an University man; I appeared, and my accusers also, one of them a schoolmaster in Christ's Hospital, another or two elders of Independent or separated Churches, who were questioned of what they had against me. They said I had preached. Divers of the Committee answered, that was true, they had heard me. The Chairman asked of my accusers, what I had said? They could not repeat any thing; but said, they were sure I had made the people of God, sad. But the sum of all their accusation was brought out of a book, which they said, contained divers blasphemies. The book was only that which was printed at the proceedings of the Massachusetts against myself and others. The Honored Committee took the book, and divers of them looked upon it, and found no such thing there as they ignorantly suggested; and though my adversaries could say nothing, but only vent their spleen, crying out upon blasphemy; yet the Chairman and divers of the board, knights and other gentlemen, questioned me about my call to preach, and other principal points in religion; and I answered to all of them according to my knowledge and conscience. Then my accusers desired Mr. Winslow might be called forth, whom they had procured to appear there; whom they thought would oppose me strongly, with respect to that book. When he came out

of the crowd, for there was a multitude of people, the place being spacious, he spake judiciously and manlike, desiring to be excused, for he had nothing to say to me in that place, his business with me lay before another Committee of Parliament; which gave the table good satisfaction. My answers and arguments were honorably taken by the Chairman and the rest of the Committee, and myself dismissed as a preacher of the Gospel. Shortly after, eminent preachers, living remote from London, then present, sent unto me kind gratulations, for my arguments used and answers given before that Committee. Which act of that Committee, I take to be as good a human call to preach, as any of your ministers have; and other call I know none they have. And, for a human call, I think mine to be as good as the degrees in the schools, or to pass under the hands and ceremonies of a titular bishop, or under the natural hands of a titular eldership, or to have the call of a people, by the power of stipend or contribution, without one of which, no contract; all which I account as human at the best.

A fifth word I have to say, is in that you send your reader to a book printed by Mr. Edward Winslow, for a more full and perfect intelligence. Mr. Winslow and myself had humanlike correspondency in England, and before the Honorable Committee which he referred himself to, as above; and not to wrong the dead, I saw nothing to the contrary, but that I had as good acceptation in the eyes of that Committee as himself had, although he had a greater charter and larger commission out of these parts, than myself then had, and however he was a man of more eminent parts than myself, yet the goodness and justness of my cause did equalize myself unto him in those occasions, both in the minds and demeanors of our superiors. I do profess, I do not know or remember any particulars, in that book he then put forth; I saw it in London, but read little of it, and when I came over into these parts, my ancient acquaintance and friend, Mr. John Brown, discoursing with me about those affairs in England, told me he had read such a book, printed or put forth by Mr. Winslow. I told him I had seen it, but read very little of it. Mr. Brown, you know, was a man approved of among you, an Assistant in your Government, a Commissioner for the United Colonies, &c. who thus spake unto me in our discourse; I will not pervert nor alter a word of the will or words of the dead; I

say, he affirmed thus unto me; that he would maintain, that there were forty lies printed in that book.

Per me, SAMUEL GORTON.

Warwick, June 30, 1669.

[Hutchinson's Hist.]

No. XII.

Ordinance of Parliament, appointing the Committee for Foreign Plantations.

An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons, assembled in Parliament; whereby Robert, Earl of Warwick, is made Governor-in-chief, and Lord High Admiral, of all those Islands and Plantations, inhabited, planted, or belonging to any of His Majesty's, the King of England's subjects, within the bounds, and upon the coasts of America:

And a Committee appointed to be assisting unto him, for the better governing, strengthening and preservation of the said Plantations; but chiefly for the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and further spreading of the Gospel of Christ, among those that yet remain there in great and miserable blindness and ignorance.

Whereas, many thousands of the natives, and good subjects of this Kingdom of England, through the oppression of the prelates and other ill-affected ministers and officers of State, have, of late years, been enforced to transplant themselves and their families into several islands, and other remote and desolate parts of the West Indies; and having there, through exceeding great labor and industry, (with the blessing of God) obtained for themselves and their families, some competent and convenient means of maintenance and subsistence, so that they are now in a reasonable, well-settled condition; but fearing lest the outrageous malice of Papists and other ill-affected persons, should reach unto them, in their poor and low, but as yet, peaceable condition, and having been informed that there hath been lately procured from His Majesty, several grants under the great seal, for erecting some new Governors and Commanders amongst the said planters, in this aforementioned plantations, whereupon the said planters, adventurers and owners of land in the said foreign plantations,—have preferred their petition unto this present Parliament; that for the better securing

of them and their present estates, there obtained through so much extreme labor and difficulty, they might have some such Governors and Governments, as should be approved of and confirmed, by the authority of both houses of Parliament. Which petition of theirs, the Lords and Commons have taken into consideration; and finding it of great importance, both to the safety and preservation of the aforesaid natives and subjects of this kingdom, as well from all foreign invasions and oppressions, as from their own intestine distractions, and disturbances; as also much tending to the honor and advantage of His Majesty's dominions, have thought fit, and do hereby constitute and ordain, Robert, Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief, and Lord High Admiral of all those islands and other plantations, inhabited, planted or belonging, to any of his Majesty's the King of England's subjects; or which hereafter may be inhabited, planted or belonging to them, within the bounds, and upon the coasts of America. And for the more effectual, speedier and easier transaction of this so weighty and important a business, which concerns the well being and preservation of so many of the distressed natives of this and other his Majesty's dominions, the Lords and Commons have thought fit, that Philip, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Earl of Manchester; William, Viscount Say and Seal; Philip, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Roberts, members of the house of Peers; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet; Sir Arther Heselrige, Baronet; Sir Henry Vane Junior, Knight; Sir Benjamin Rudyer, Knight; John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bend, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolles and William Spurstow, Esquires, members of the house of Commons, shall be Commissioners to join in, aid and assist with the said Earl of Warwick, Chief Governor and Admiral of the said plantations, which Chief Governor, together with the said Commissioners or any four of them, shall hereby have power and authority to provide for, order and dispose all things which they shall from time to time find most fit and advantageous to the well governing, securing, strengthening and preserving of the said plantations; and chiefly to the preservation and advancement of the true Protestent Religion amongst the said planters, inhabitants; and that the further enlargement and spreading of the gospel of Christ amongst those that yet remain there in great and miserable blindness and ignorance. And for the better advancement of this so great a

work, it is hereby further ordained by the said Lords and Commons, that the aforesaid Governor and Commissioners shall hereby have power and authority, upon all weighty and important occasions which may concern the good and safety of the aforesaid planters, to call unto their advice and assistance therein, any other of the aforesaid planters, owners of land or inhabitants of the said islands and plantations, which shall then be within twenty miles of the place where the said Commissioners shall then be; and shall have power and authority, to send for, view and make use of all such records, books and papers, which do or may concern, any of the said plantations. And because the well settling and establishing of such officers and governors, as shall be laborious and faithful in the right governing of all such persons as be resident in or upon the said plantations, and due ordering and disposing of all such affairs as concern the safety and welfare of the same, is of very great advantage to the public good of all such remote and new plantations, it is hereby further ordained and decreed, that the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, Governor-in-chief and Admiral of the said plantations, together with the aforesaid Commissioners, Philip, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Earl of Manchester; William, Viscount Say and Seal; Philip, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Roberts; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Knight and Baronet; Sir Arthur Heselrige, Baronet; Sir Henry Vane Junior, Knight; John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolles and William Spurstow, Esquires, or the greater number of them, shall have power and authority, from time to time, to nominate, appoint and constitute all such subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers and agents, as they shall judge to be best affected and most fit and serviceable for the said islands and plantations; and shall hereby have power and authority upon the death or other avoidance of the aforesaid Chief Governor and Admiral, or any other Commissioners before named, from time to time, to nominate and appoint such other chief governor and admiral or commissioners in the place or room of such as shall so become void. And shall also hereby have power and authority to remove any of the said subordinate governors, counsellors, officers or agents, which are or shall be appointed to govern, counsel or negotiate the public affairs of the said plantations; and in their place and room, to appoint such other officers as they shall judge fit. And it is

hereby ordained that no subordinate governors, counsellors, commanders, officers, agents, planters or inhabitants whatsoever, that are now resident in or upon the same islands or plantations, shall admit or receive any other new governors, counsellers, commanders, officers, or agents whatsoever, but such as shall be allowed and approved of under the hands and seals of the aforementioned commissioners, or any six of them, or under the hands and seals of such as they shall authorize thereunto.

And whereas for the better government and security of the said plantations or islands, and the owners and inhabitants thereof, there may be just and fit occasion to assign over some part of the power and authority (granted in this Ordinance to the chief Governor and Commissioners aforenamed) unto the said owners, inhabitants or others; it is hereby ordained, that the said Chief Governor and Commissioners before mentioned, or the greater number of them, shall be authorized to assign, ratify and confirm so much of their aforementioned authority and power, and in such manner, and to such persons as they shall judge to be fit, for the better governing and preserving of the said plantations and islands, from open violence, and private disturbance and distractions.

And lastly, whosoever shall do, execute or yield obedience to any thing contained in this Ordinance, shall by virtue hereof, be saved harmless and indemnified.

[Haz. Hist. Col.]

[This Act was passed, Nov. 2, 1643, as will appear by reference to the charter granted under it, to the colonists of Providence Plantations, Appendix, No. XVII.

No. XIII.

Indian Deed of Shawomet.

Know all men; that I, Myantonomy, Chefe Sachem of the Nanheyganset, have sold unto the persons heare named, one parcell of lands with all the rights and privileges thereof whatsoever, lyinge upon the węst side of that part of the sea called Sohomes Bay from Copassnetuxet, over against a litle iland in the sayd Bay, beinge the North bounds, and the outmost point of that neck of land called Shawhomett,

beinge the South bounds from the sea shore of each boundary, upon a straite line westward twenty miles. I say I have truly sold this parcell of land above said, the proportion whereof is according to the mapp under written or drawne, beinge the forme of it, unto Randall Houlden, John Greene, John Weeks, Francis Weston, Samuel Gorton, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Samson Shotton, Robert Potter, William Wuddall, for one hundred and forty 4 fathom of Wampum-peage, I say I have sold it, and possession of it given unto the men abovesayd, with the free and joynt consent of the prisent inhabitants, being natives, as it appeares by their hands hereunto annexed. Dated the twelfth day of January, 1642. Beinge enacted upon the abovesaid parcell of land, in the presence off

TOTANOMANS, MYANTONOMEY.

His marke.

PUMHAM, Sachem of Showhomet,

His marke.

JANO,

His marke.

JOHN GREENE.

The above written is a true Coppy of the origenall, entred and recorded.

Per JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

True copy of record.

Witness, HENRY BOWEN, Sec'ry.

[Records State of Rhode-Island.]

No. XIV.

Will made by the Town Council of Providence, for Nicholas Power.

PROVIDENCE, the 27th May, 1667.

Whereas, we, the Council of the Town aforesaid, are authorized by the law of this, His Majesty's Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, to take care of the es-

tates of such persons as die intestate; and forasmuch as Nicholas Power, an inhabitant of this town, deceased this life, the 25th of August, 1657, and by reason of extreme sickness and sudden death, made no will in writing, and considering how necessary a thing it is, a will be made, for the peace and safety of all those concerned in it, and in obedience to the law to the said end, not questioning but the former councils of the town, observed no cause to question or mistrust any embezzlement of what the said Nicholas left behind him, nor do we; yet forasmuch as application is made to us, and before this time hath not been to the former councils, by his widow, and considering that the children grow near the age of possessing, therefore that we may prevent differences before they begin, therefore by His Majesty's authority, committed to us to the same end, make and draw up a will, instead of the deceased man's will, having information what the said Nicholas left behind him.

[The Will then goes on, and disposes of part of the real and personal estate of the deceased, to the widow, part for life, and part in fee. The remainder is divided between the son and daughter, and given to them in fee tail general with cross remainders; and closes with the following attestation.]

Witness our hands and seals.

WILLIAM CARPENTER, [L. S.]

WILLIAM HARRIS, [L. S.]

THOMAS HARRIS, [L. S.]

ROGER WILLIAMS, [L.S.]

THOMAS OLNEY, Sen. [L.S.]

[Providence Records.]

[Can it be believed, after this, that Williams was a lawyer, educated under Sir Edward Coke?]

No. XV.

Submission of Pumham and Sacononcco to the Massachusetts.

This writing is to testify, that we, Pumham, Sachem of Shawomock, and Sacononcco, Sachem of Patuxet, &c.

have, and by these presents do, voluntarily, and without any constraint or persuasion, but of our own free motion, put ourselves, our subjects, our lands and estates, under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts; to be governed and protected by them, according to their just laws and orders, so far as we shall be made capable of understanding them; and we do promise, for ourselves and our subjects and all our posterity, to be true and faithful to the said Government, and aiding to the maintenance thereof, to our best ability; and from time to time, to give speedy notice of any conspiracy, attempt or evil intention of any, which we shall know or hear of, against the same; and we do promise to be willing, from time to time, to be instructed in the knowledge and worship of God. In witness whereof, &c. [Sav. Winthrop.]

[Upon this subject, the learned and impartial editor of that work remarks; "We may rejoice in the benevolence, which attempted the civilization and conversion to Christianity of these Indians, and certainly must honor the Government, whose liberal treaty with their confederates is so diverse from the usual terms of stipulation with the natives; but it may be feared, that there was too much human policy at work in obtaining their *subjection*; and we must acknowledge that a terrritorial usurpation beyond the limits of our charter, was the result, if not the motive, of the negotiation. Yet, the act of submission in June, could not invalidate the deed of January preceding."]

No. XVI.

Extract from the "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England."

Of the proceedings of certain persons called Gortonists, against the United Colonies, and more especially against the Massachusetts, and of the blasphemous doctrines broached by Gorton, deluding a company of poor ignorant people therewith.

For not long before, those persons that we spake of, who encouraged Miantonomi to this war, and with the help of him, enforced Pumham and Sacononocco, to set their hands to a writtng which these Gortonists had framed, to take their

lands from them; but the poor Sachems, when they saw they were thus gulled of their land, would take no pay for it, but complained to the Massachusetts Government, to whom they had subjected themselves and their lands: As also at this time certain English inhabiting those parts, with the Indians, good leave and liking, desired to have the benefit of the Massachusetts Government, as Dover formerly had done, to whom this Government condescended, in hope they might increase to such a competent number of godly Christians, as there might be a Church of Christ planted; the place being capable to entertain them in a comfortable measure for outward accommodation; but hitherto it hath been hindered by these Gortonists, and one of Plymouth, who forbad our people to plant there. These persons thus submitting, came at this time also, to complain of certain wrongs done them by these Gortonists, who had thus encroached and began to build on the Indians' land: Upon these complaints, the Governor and the honored Mr. Dudley, issue forth their warrant, to summon them to appear, they being then about five or six persons, without any means of instructing them in the ways of God, and without any civil government to keep them in civility or humanity, which made them to cast off, most proudly and disdainfully, any giving account to man of their actions, no not to the chiefest in authority, but returned back most insolent, scornful, scurrilous speeches. After this the Government of the Massachusetts sent two messengers on purpose to persuade them to come and have their cause heard, assuring them like justice in their cause with any other. But Samuel Gorton, being the ringleader of the rout, was so full gorged with dreadful and damnable errors, the which he had newly ensnared these poor souls with, that soon after the departure of the messenger, he lays aside all civil justice, and instead of returning answer to the matter in hand, he vomits up a whole paper of beastly stuff, one while scoffing and deriding the ignorance of all beside himself, that think Abraham, Issac, &c. could be saved by Jesus Christ, who was after born of the Virgin Mary, another while mocking at the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, in an opprobrious manner deriding at the elements Christ was pleased to institute them in, and calling them necromancers that administer them at all; and in a word all the ordinances of the Gospel, abominable idolatry he called and lik-

ened them to Moloch and the star of the idol Remphan; his paper was thrust full of such filthiness, that no Christian ear could hear them without indignation against them, and all was done by him in a very scornful and deriding manner, upbraiding all that use them; in the meantime magnifying his own glorious light, that could see himself to be personally Christ, God-man, and so all others that would believe as he did. This paper he got to be subscribed with about twelve or thirteen hands, his number of disciples being increased, for assuredly the man had a very glossing tongue, but yet very deceitful; for when he had but a few with him, then he cried out against all such as would rule over their own species; affirming that the Scriptures term such to be gods of the world, or devils; but after his return from England, having received some encouragement from such as could not look into the depth of his deceit, being done at so large a distance, he getting into favor again with those who had formerly whipt him out of their company, turns devil himself. The godly Governors of the Massachusetts, seeing this blasphemous bull of his, resolved to send forty persons well appointed with weapons of war, for apprehending of him; who, accordingly, with some waiting, did apprehend him with the rest of his company, except two or three which ran away, without any hurt to any person, although he gave out very big words, threatening them with blood and death so soon as they set foot on the ground; and yet this brazen-faced deceiver published in print, the great fear their women were put unto by the soldiers; whereas they came among them day by day, and had it not been that they intended peaceably to take them, they would never have waited so long upon their worships as they did, but being apprehended and standing to that they had written, yet would they willingly have covered it with some shifts, if they could: the greatest punishment they had, was to be confined to certain towns for a few months, and afterwards banished; but to be sure there be they in New-England that have Christ Jesus and his blessed ordinances in such esteem, that the Lord assisting, they had rather lose their lives, than suffer them to be thus blasphemed, if they can help it. And whereas some have favored them, and endeavored to bring under blame, such as have been zealous against their abominable doctrines, the good God be favorable unto them, and prevent them from coming under the

like blame with Ahab; yet they remain in their old way, and there is somewhat to be considered in it, to be sure, that in these days, when all look for the fall of Antichrist, such detestable doctrines should be upheld, and persons suffered, that exceed the Beast himself in blasphemy; and this to be done by those that would be counted reformers, and such as seek the utter subversion of Antichrist.

[Thus far, the author of "Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New-England," a work to be consulted by the curious reader, rather than by him who seeks for accuracy in details, for elegant narration, or for harmonious poetry. It was to be expected that Johnson, who was one of the Commissioners of the Massachusetts, would have narrated all the particular of the capture of this arch heretic; how he has done this, the reader has seen. Can one be surprized that the "Gortonists" refused to have the complaints against them tried by Massachusetts, when the author of the foregoing chapter was selected by that Government, as a Commissioner to examine into them? If he was chosen as a proper person to commend "the moderation and justice" of Massachusetts, were they not justified in refusing it?]

No. XVII.

Charter to Providence Plantations.

Whereas, by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, bearing date the 2d day of November, Anno. Dom. 1643. Robert, Earl of Warwick, is constituted and ordained Governor-in-chief and Lord High Admiral of all those Islands and other Plantations, inhabited or planted, by or belonging to any of his Majesty, the King of England's subjects, or which hereafter may be inhabited or planted by or belong to them, within and upon the coast of America. And whereas, the said Lords and Commons, have thought fit, and thereby ordained that Philip, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Earl of Manchester; William, Viscount Say and Seal; Philip, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Rolle; Members of the house of Peers; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Baronet; Sir Arthur Haselrige, Baronet; Sir Henry Vane Jr. Knight; Sir Benjamin Rudyer, Knight, John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet;

Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassal, John Rolle and William Spurstow, Esq'rs. Members of the house of Commons, should be Commissioners, to join aid and assistance with the said Earl. And whereas for the better governing and preserving of the said plantations, it is thereby ordained, that the aforesaid Governor and Commissioners, or the greater number of them, should have power and authority from time to time, to nominate, appoint and constitute, all such subordinate Governors, Counsellors, Commanders, officers and agents, as they shall judge to be best affected, and most fit and serviceable to govern the said islands and plantations, and to provide for, order and dispose all things therein, as they shall from time to time find most advantageous for the said plantations, and for the better security of the owners and inhabitants thereof; to assign, ratify and confirm so much of their aforementioned authority and power, and in such manner and to such persons as they shall judge to be fit for the better governing and preserving of the said plantations and islands from open violence, and private disturbance and distraction. And whereas there is a tract of Land in the continent of America aforesaid, called by the name of the Narragansett Bay, bordering North and North-East on the Patent of the Massachusetts, East and South-East on Plymouth patent, South on the Ocean, and on the West and North-West, inhabited by the Indians called Narrogamecucks, alias, Narragansetts; the whole tract extending about twenty and seven English miles unto the Pequot River and country. And whereas divers well affected and industrious English inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, in the tract aforesaid, have adventured to make a nearer neighborhood to, and society with, that great body of the Narragansetts, which may in time, by the blessing of God upon their endeavor, lay a surer foundation of happiness to all America; and have also purchased, and are purchasing of and amongst the natives, some other places, which may be convenient both for plantations, and also for the building of ships, supply of pipe-staves and other merchandize. And whereas, the said English have represented their desires to the said Earl and Commissioners, to have their hopeful beginning approved and confirmed by granting unto them a free charter of civil incorporation and government, that they may order and govern their plantations in such manner as to maintain justice

and peace, both amongst themselves and towards all men, with whom they shall have to do.

In due consideration of the premises, the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, Govenor-in-chief and Lord High Admiral of the said plantations, and the greater number of the said Commissioners, whose names and seals are here under written and subjoined, out of a desire to encourage the good beginning of the said planters, do, by the authority of the said ordinance of Lords and Commons, give, grant and confirm unto the aforesaid inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, a full and absolute Charter of Civil Incorporation to be known by the name of the Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New-England; together with full power and authority to govern and rule themselves and such others as shall inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greater part of them, they shall find most serviceable in their estate and condition; and for that end, to make and ordain such civil laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors, and for execution thereof to place and displace officers of justice, as they or the greater part of them, shall by free consent, agree unto.

Provided, nevertheless; that the same laws, constitutions and punishments, for the civil government of the said plantation, be conformible to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place will admit; and always reserving to the said Earl and Commissioners, and their successors, power and authority for to dispose the General Government of that, as it stands in relation to the rest of the plantations in America, as they shall commissionate from time to time, most conducing to the general good of the said plantations, the Honor of His Majesty, and the service of the State.

And the said Earl and Commissioners, do further authorize the aforesaid inhabitants, for the better transacting their public affairs, to make and use a public seal, as the known seal of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New-England.

In testimony whereof the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, and Commissioners, have hereunto set their hands and seals, the seventeenth day of March, in the nineteenth year of the

reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, and in the year of our Lord God, 1643.

ROBERT, Warwick,	L. S.
PHILIP, Pembroke,	L. S.
WILLIAM, Say and Seal,	L. S.
PHILIP, Wharton,	L. S.
ART. HASELRIGE,	L. S.
H. VANE, Jr.	L. S.
COR. HOLLAND,	L. S.
SAM. VASSAL,	L. S.
JOHN ROLLE,	L. S.
MILES CORBET,	L. S.
W. SPURSTOW.	L. S.

No. XVIII.

Letter from Gorton and his Company, to Massachusetts.

From our Neck, Curo, September 15, 1643.

To the great and honored Idol General, now set up in the Massachusetts, whose pretended equity in distribution of justice unto the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a mere device of man, according to the ancient custom and sleights of Satan, transforming himself into an angel of light, to subject and make slaves of that species or kind that God hath honored with his own image; (read Dan. 3d chap.) Wherein, if it be not like Lot's door unto the Sodomites, you may see the visage or countenance of your State; for we know the sound of all your music, from the highest note of wind instruments sounding or set up by the breath or voices of men, to have dominion and rule as though there were no God in heaven or in earth, but they, to do

right unto the sons of men; unto the lowest tunes of your stringed instruments, subjecting themselves to hand or skill of the devised ministrations of men, as though God made man to be a vassal to his own species; for he may as well be a slave to his belly, and make it his God, as to any thing that man can bring forth; yea, even in his best perfection; who can lay claim to no title or term of honor, but what the dust, rottenness and putrefaction can afford; for that of right belongeth solely to our Lord Christ. Wo, therefore, unto the world, because of the idols thereof, for idols must needs be set up; but wo unto them by whom they are erected.

Out of the abovesaid principles, which is the kingdom of darkness and of the devil, you have writ another note unto us, to add to your former pride and folly, telling us again, you have taken Pomham with others, into your jurisdiction and Government, and that upon good grounds, as you say. You might have done well to have proved yourselves Christians, before you had mingled yourselves with the heathens; that so your children might have known how to put a distinction betwixt you and them, in after times; but we perceive that to be too hard a work for yourselves to perform, even in time present. But if you will communicate justice and government with that Indian, we advise you to keep him amongst yourselves, where he and you may perform that worthy work. Yet upon a better ground, we can inform you, that he may not expect former courtesies from us; for now, by your note, we are resolved of his breach of covenant with us, in this his seeking and subjection unto you, which formerly he hath always denied. Let him and you know, therefore; that he is to make other provision for his planting of corn hereafter, than upon Mashawomet; for we will not harbor amongst us, any such fawning, lying and cadaverous person, as he is, after knowledge of him as now in fact you have given unto us; only he shall have liberty sufficient to take away his corn, habitation, or any of his implements, so be it he pass away in peace and quiet; which might in no case be admitted, if it were so that we lived by blood as you do, either through incision of the nose, division of the ear from the head, stigmatics upon the back, suffocation of the veins, through extremity of cold, by your banishments in the winter, or strangled in the flesh with a halter. But we know our course, professing the kingdom of God

and his righteousness; renouncing that of darkness and the Devil, wherein you delight to trust; for without the practice of these things, you cannot kiss your hand, bless your idol, nor profess your vows and offerings to be paid and performed. Oh, ye generation of vipers; who hath forewarned you or forestalled your minds with this, but Satan himself, that the practise of these things is to flee from the wrath to come? Whereas the very exercise and performance of them, is nothing else but the vengeance and wrath of God upon you already; in that mankind so harmonically made in the image of God, is in the exercise of your kingdom, become the torturer and tormenter, yea, the executioner of itself, whilst those of you who are of the same stock and stem, work out, yea, and that curiously, through the law of your minds, the death and destruction of one another; whereas in the mean time, the same nature or subsistence in the way of our Lord Jesus, saves both itself and others. You tell us of complaints made by the Indians, of unjust dealings and injuries done unto them: why do they not make them known unto us? They never complained to us of anything done unto this day, but they had satisfaction to the full, according to their own mind; for oft we know in what they express unto us, although our wrongs insufferable, done by them, lie still in the dark. For we know very well, we have plenty of causeless adversaries, wanting no malice that Satan can inject; therefore we suffer much, that in the perfection and height of their plots, they may receive the greater rebuke, and shame for their baseness, in the eyes of all the world. To which end, we have not only committed our condition unto writings, but (put) them also into the hands and custody of such friends, from whom they shall not be taken by any or all the governments of this country, as formerly they have been; that so our wrongs might not appear. Therefore, never pick a quarrel against us in these things, for we know all your sleights and devices, that being you now want such as old malicious Arnold, one of your low-stringed instruments, to exercise his fiddle amongst us, and we are void of your Benediction also, sprung out of the same stock, to make rents and divisions for you to enter, to gain honor unto yourselvs, in having patients to heal, though they lie never so long under your hands, your chirurgery must be thought never the worse. Wanting these or such like of the English to betray the lib-

erties God hath given us, unto your hands, now you work by your coadjutors, these accursed Indians. But you are deceived in us. We are not a cup fitted for your so eager appetite, no otherwise than if you take it down, it shall prove unto you a cup of trembling, either making you vomit out your own eternal shame, or else to burst in sunder, like your fellow confessor for hire, Judas Iscariot. For Mr. Winthrop and his co-partner, Parker, may not think to lay our purchased plantation, to their island so near adjoining; for they come too late in that point, though Benedict hath reported, that Miantonomi, one of the Sachems of whom we bought it, should lose his head for selling his right thereof to us. As also a minister affirmed, that Mr. Winthrop should say to him, that we should either be subjected unto you, or else removed hence, though it should cost blood. Know, therefore, that our lives are set apart already, for the case we have in hand; so, we will lose nothing but what is put apart aforehand. Bethink yourselves, therefore, what you should gain, by fetching of them, in case it were in your power, for our loss should be nothing at all. For we are resolved, that according as you put forth yourselves towards us, so shall you find us transformed to answer you. If you put forth your hands to us as countrymen, ours are in readiness for you—if you exercise your pen, accordingly do we become a ready writer—if your sword be drawn, ours is girt upon our thigh—if you present a gun, make haste to give the first fire, for we are come to put fire upon the earth; and it is our desire to have it speedily kindled.

For your pursuit of us still to come to your Courts to receive your parcels of justice; undoubtedly either God hath blinded your eyes that you see not our answer formerly given in that point; or else you are most audacious, to urge it upon us again; also, you may take notice, that we take in more disdain than you could do, in case we should importune you, yea, the chief among you, to come up to us and be employed according to our pleasure, in such works as we thought good to set you about; and for your grant of freedom unto us, to come down to you and return in safety, we cannot sufficiently villify this your verbal and perfunctory offer; knowing very well, according to the verdict of your own conscience, that what wrongs soever are passed amongst us since our coming into this country, you have been the violent agents and we the patients. To fear,

therefore, to come amongst you as such as have done wrong, the case vanisheth in us, so must the effect also. And to fear to come unto you as tyrants which your grant must necessarily imply, that we cannot; knowing that he that is with us is stronger than he that is in you. Also the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; and when and where he shall call, we will go; but not at the will and lust of sorry man, to play their parts with us at their pleasure, as formerly they have done, and as it is apparent you desire to do; for if your lusts prevailed not over you in that kind, you might well think, that we have better employments than to trot to the Massachusetts, upon the report of a lying Indian or English either, as your factors and ordinary hackneys do. But know this, oh ye, that so long as we behave ourselves as men, walking in the name of our God, wherever we have occasion to come, if any mortal man whose breath is in his nostrils, dares to call us in question, we dare to give answer to him or them; nor shall we fail, through God, to give testimony, even in his own conscience, of the hope that is in us, whether his question may concern the rise or succession either of priest or peer. In the mean time, we sit under the cloudy pillar, while the nations roar and make a noise about us; and though you may look upon us with the unopened eye of Elias's servant, thinking us as nothing to those that are against us, yet wherever the cloudr rest, we know the Lord's return to the many thousands of Israel. In that you say our freedom granted to come unto you, takes away all excuse from us, we freely retort it upon yourselves to make excuses, whose laws and proceedings with the souls and bodies of men, is nothing else but a continued act, like the horse in the mill, of accusing and excusing; which you do by circumstances and conjectures, as all your fathers have done before you, the diviners and necromancers of the world, who are gone to their own place, and have their reward. But for the true nature, rise and distribution of things, as they are indeed, and shall remain and abide as a law, firm and stable forever, we say and can make it good, you know nothing at all. Therefore, such as can delight themselves in preaching, professing and executing such things, as must end as the brute beasts do, nay take them away for the present, and they have lost their honor, religion as also their God, let such, we say, know themselves to be that beast and false prophet, no man of God, at all. In the

mean time, we look not on the things that are seen, but on the things that are not seen knowing, the one, as temporary and the other, eternal. Nor do we think the better of any man for being invested into places, or things that will in time, wax old, as doth a garment; neither judge we the worse of any man for the want of them, for if we should, we must condemn the Lord Christ, as so many do at this day.

We demand, when we may expect some of you to come up to us, to answer and give satisfaction for some of those foul and inhuman wrongs you have done, not to the Indians, but to us your countrymen; not to bring in a catalogue, as we might, take this one particularly above you are now acting, in that you abet and back these base Indians to abuse us. Indeed Pomham is an aspiring person, as becomes a prince of his profession; for having crept into one of our neighbor's houses, in the absence of the people, and feloniously rifled the same, he was taken, coming out again at the chimney top. Saconononocco also, hath entered in like manner into one of our houses, with divers of his companions, and breaking open a chest, did steal out divers parcels of goods, some part whereof, as some of his companions have affirmed, are in his custody at this time. Yet we stand still, to see to what good issue you will bring your proceedings with these persons by whom you are so honorably attended in the Court General, as you call it, and would honor us also to come three or four score miles to stand by you and them; we could tell you also, that it is nothing with these fellows, to send our cattle out of the woods with arrows in their sides, as at this present it appears, in one even now so come home; and it is well they come home at all; for sometimes their wigwams can receive them, and we have nothing of them at all. Yea, they can domineer over our wives and children, in our houses, when we are abroad about our necessary occasions; sometimes throwing stones to the endangering of their lives, and sometimes violently taking our goods, making us to run for it, if we will have it; and if we speak to them to amend their manners, they can presently vaunt it out, that the Massachusetts is all one with them, let the villainy they do, be what it will; they think themselves secure; for they look to be upheld by you, in whatever they do, if you be stronger than them which they have to deal with all. And they look with the same eye yourselves do, thinking the multitude will bear down all, and persuade

themselves, as well they may, that as you tolerate and maintain them in other of their daily, practices; as lying, Sabbath-breaking, taking of many wives, gross whoredoms and fornications; so you will do also in their stealing, abusing of our children and the like; for you have your diligent ledgers here among them, that inculcate daily upon this, how hateful we are unto you, calling us by other names of their own devising, bearing them in hand, we are not Englishmen, and therefore the object of envy of all that are about us; and that if we have any thing to do with you, the very naming of our persons shall cast our case, be it what it will; as it is too evident, by the case depending between William Arnold and John Warner; that no sooner was the name of Mr. Gorton mentioned amongst you, but Mr. Dudley disdainfully asking, "Is this one, joined to Gorton?" and Mr. Winthrop, unjustly upon the same speech, refused the oath of the witness, calling him "knight of the post." Are these the ways and persons you trade by, towards us? Are these the people you honor yourselves withal? The Lord shall lay such honor in the dust, and bow down your backs with shame and sorrow to the grave, and declare such to be apostatizers from the truth, and falsifiers of the word of God, only to please men and serve their own lusts, that can give thanks in their public congregations, for their unity with such gross abominations as these. We must needs ask you another question, from a sermon now preached amongst us; namely how that blood relisheth, you have formerly sucked from us, by casting us upon straights above our strength, that have not been exercised in such kinds of labors, no more than the best of you in former times, in removing us from our former conveniences, to the taking away of the lives of some of us; when you are about your dished-up dainties, having turned the juice of a poor, silly grape, that perisheth in the use of it, into the blood of our Lord Jesus, by the cunning skill of your magicians, which doth mad and drunk so many in the world; and yet a little sleep makes them their own men again; so can it heal and pacify your consciences at present; but the least hand of God, returns your fears and terrors again. Let our blood, we say, present itself together herewith. You hypocrites, when will you answer such cases as these? And we do hereby promise unto you, that we will never look man in the face, if you have not a fairer hearing than ever we had amongst you

or can ever expect. And be it known to you all, that we are your own countrymen, whatever you report of us; though the Lord hath taught us a language you never spoke, neither can you hear it; and that is the cause of your alienation from us. For as you have mouths, and speak not; so have ye ears, and hear not. So we leave you to the judgment and arraignment of God Almighty. The joint act, not of the General Court, but of the peculiar fellowship now abiding upon Mshawomet.

RANDALL HOLDEN.

POSTSCRIPTUM.

We need not put a seal unto this our warrant, no more than you did to yours. The Lord hath added one to our hands, in the very conclusion of it, in that effusion of blood and horrible massacre, now made at the Dutch plantation, of our loving countrymen, women and children, which is nothing else but the complete figure, in a short epitome of what we have written, summed up in one entire act; and lest you should make it a part of your justification, as you do all such like acts, provided they be not upon your own backs, concluding them to be greater sinners than yourselves; we tell ye, nay, but except you repent, you shall all likewise perish. For we ask you, who was the cause of Mrs. Hutchinson, her departure from amongst you? was it voluntary? No: she changed her phrases according to the dictates of your tutors, and confessed her mistakes, that so she might give you content to abide amongst you; yet did you expose her and cast her away. No less are you the original of her removal from Aquetneck; for when she saw her children could not come down among you, no, not to confer with you in your own way of brotherhood, but be clapt up and detained with so long imprisonment; rumors, also, being noised about, that the island should be brought under your government, which if it should, they were fearful of their lives, or else to act against the plain verdict of their own consciences, having had so great and apparent proof of your dealings before; as also the island being at such divisions within itself; some earnestly desiring it should be delivered into your hands, professing their unity with you; others denied it, professing their division and dissent from you; though for what, themselves know not, but only their abominable pride to exercise the like tyranny.

From these and such like workings, having their original in you, she gathered unto herself, and took up this fiction, with the rest of her friends, that the Dutch plantation was the city of refuge, as she had gathered like things from your doctrines before, when she seemed to hold out some glimpses or glances of light more than appeared elsewhere, whilst there was such to approve it, in whom there might be some hope to exalt the instruments thereof higher than could be expected from others. But you know very well, you could never rest nor be at quiet, till you had put it under a bushel, id est, bounded and measured the infinite and immense word of God, according to your own shallow, human and carnal capacities; which however it may get the highest seats in your synagogues, synods and Jewish sanhedrims, yet it shall never enter into the Kingdom of God, to be a door keeper there. Do not, therefore, beguile yourselves, in crying out against the errors of these so miserably fallen; for they are no other things which they hold, but the branches of the same root yourselves so stoutly stand upon. But know this, that now the axe is laid to the root of the tree whereof you are a part: and every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, according to the law of that good thing which the father knows how to give to those that ask it, shall be cut down and cast into the fire. Neither do you fill up your speeches or tales, we mean your sermons. But we affect not the idolizers of words, no more than persons or places; for yourselves know the word, is no more but a bruit or talk, as you know also your great and terrible word, magistrate, is no more in its original than masterly or masterless, which hath no great lustre in our ordinary acceptation. Therefore we look to find and enjoy the substance, and let the ceremony of these things, like vapor, vanish away, though they gather themselves into clouds without any water at all in them. The Lord is, in the mean time, a dew unto Israel, and makes him to grow like a lilly, casting out his roots and branches in Lebanon. We say, fill not up your talk as your manner is, crying, that she went out without ordinances, for God can raise up out of that stone which you have already rejected, as children, so also ministers and ordinances unto Abraham. You may remember also, that every people and poor plantation formerly fleeced by you, cannot reach unto the hire of one of your tenets, or fetch in one such dove as you send abroad into our native

country, to carry and bring you news. Nor can you charge them in that point, for it was for protection and government they went: and however hire in other respects, yet the price of a wife and safety of his own life adjoined, carried a minister along with them of the same rise and breeding, together with your own, to add unto the blood so savagely and causelessly spilt, with which a company of such as you take pleasure to protect; for they are all of one spirit, if they have not hands in the same act. We say their death is causeless: for we have heard them affirm, that they would never heave up a hand, no, nor move a tongue against any that persecuted or troubled them; but only endeavor to save themselves by flight, not perceiving the nature and end of persecution; neither of that anti-christian opposition and tyranny, the issue whereof declares itself in this so dreadful and lamentable asportation———[Four words illegible.]

[Mass. Hist. Soc. Col.]

No. XIX.

Gov. Winthrop's Account of Gorton's Trial, &c.

[Gov. Winthrop gives the following account of the trial, &c. of Gorton. See 2d vol. Sav. Wint. p. 142, &c.]

Captain Cooke and his company, which were sent out against Gorton, returned to Boston; and the captives, being nine, were brought to the Governor his house, in a military order, viz. the soldiers being in two files, and after every five or six soldiers, a prisoner. So being before his door, the Commissioners came in, and after the Governor had saluted them, he went forth with them, and passing through the files, welcomed them home, blessing God for preserving and prospering them, and gave them all thanks for their pains and good carriage, and desired of the Captain a list of their names, that the Court, &c. might know them, if hereafter there should be occasion to make use of such men. This good acceptance and commendation of their service gave many of them more content than their wages, (which yet was very liberal, ten shillings per week, and they to victual themselves; and it is needful in all such Commonwealths, where the State desires to be served by volunteers.) Then having conferred privately with the Commissioners, he caused the prisoners to be brought before him, in

his hall, where was a great assembly; and there laid before them their contemptuous carriage towards us, and their obstinacy against all the fair means and moderation we had used to reform them and bring them to do right to those of ours whom they had wronged, and how the Lord had now justly delivered them into our hands. They pleaded, in their excuse, that they were not of our jurisdiction; and that though they had now yielded themselves to come and answer before us, yet they yielded not as prisoners. The Governor replied, they were brought to him as taken in war, and so our Commissioners had informed; but if they could plead any other quarter or agreement our Commissioners had made with them, we must and would perform it; to which they made no answer. So the Governor committed them to the Marshal, to convey to the common prison; and gave order they should be well provided for, both for lodging and diet. Then he went forth again with the Captain; and the soldiers gave him three vollies of shot, and so departed to the inn, where the Governor had appointed some refreshing to be provided for them, above their wages.

The next Lord's Day in the forenoon, the prisoners would not come to the meeting, so as the magistrates determined they should be compelled. They agreed to come, so as they might have liberty, after sermon, to speak, if they had occasion. The magistrates' answer was, that they did leave the ordering of things in the Church to the elders, but there was no doubt but they might have leave to speak, so as they spake the words of truth and sobriety. So in the afternoon they came, and were placed in the fourth seat, right before the elders. Mr. Cotton (in his ordinary text) taught them out of Acts 19. of Demetrius pleading for Diana's silver shrines or temples, &c. After sermon, Gorton desired leave to speak; which being granted, he repeated the points of Mr. Cotton's sermon, and coming to that of the silver shrines, he said that in the Church there was nothing now but Christ; so that all our ordinances, ministers, sacraments, &c. were but men's inventions for show and pomp, and no other than those silver shrines of Diana. He said also that if Christ lived eternally, then he died eternally; and it appeared both by his letters and examinations that he held that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and that he was that image of God wherein Adam was created; and that the chief work and merit was in that his incarnation; in that he

became such a thing, so mean, &c. and that his being born after, of the Virgin Mary and suffering, &c. was but a manifestation of his sufferings, &c. in Adam. Likewise in his letters he condemned and reviled magistracy, calling it an idol, alleging that a man might as well be a slave to his belly, as to his own species: yet being examined, he would acknowledge magistracy to be an ordinance of God in the world, as marriage was, viz. no other magistracy but what was natural, as the father over his wife and children, and an hereditary prince over his subjects.

When the General Court was assembled, Gorton and his company were brought forth upon the lecture-day, at Boston, and there, before a great assembly, the Governor declared the cause and manner of our proceeding against them, and their letters were openly read, and all objections answered. As 1. That they were not within our jurisdiction. To this was answered. 1. That they were either within Plymouth or Mr. Fenwick, and that they had yielded their power to us in this cause.[1] 2. If they were under no jurisdiction, then had we none to complain unto, for redress of our injuries; and then we must either right ourselves and our subjects by force of arms, or else we must sit still under all their reproaches and injuries, among which they had this insolent passage:—"We do more disdain that you should send for us to come to you, than you could do, if we should send for the chiefest among you to come up to us, and be employed according to our pleasure in such works as we should appoint you."

As for their opinions, we did not meddle with them for those, otherwise than they had given us occasion by their letters to us, and by their free and open publishing them amongst us; for we wrote to them only about civil controversies between them and our people, and gave them no occasion to vent their blasphemings and revilings, &c. And for their title to the Indians' land, we had, divers times, desired them to make it appear; but they always refused, even to our Commissioners, whom we sent last to them; and since they were in prison, we offered to send for any witnesses they would desire, but still they refused; so that our title appearing good, and we having now regained our

[1] How far Plymouth or Mr. Fenwick assented to these proceedings, or had yielded their power, can be ascertained by referring to Appendix, No. 7.—S.

possession, we need not question them any more about that. Their letters being read, they were demanded, severally, if they would maintain those things which were contained therein. They answered, they would, in that sense wherein they wrote them.

After this, they were brought before the Court severally to be examined, (divers of the elders being desired to be present,) and because they had said they could give a good interpretation of all they had written, they were examined upon the particular passages. But the interpretation they gave being contradictory to their expressions, they were demanded then if they would retract those expressions, but that they refused, and said still that they should then deny the truth. For instance, in one or two; their letters were directed, one to their Neighbors of the Massachusetts, and the other of them to the Great Honored Idol General of the Massachusetts; and by a messenger of their own, delivered to our Governor; and many passages in both letters particularly applied to our courts, our magistrates, our elders, &c. yet in their examinations about their reproachful passages, they answered, that they meant them of the corrupt estate of mankind in general, and not of us, &c. So whereas in their letters they impute it to us as an error, that we teach that Christ died actually only when he suffered under Pontius Pilate, and before only in types, upon their examination, they say, that their meaning was, that his death was actual to the faith of the fathers under the law; which is, in effect, no other than we hold; yet they account it an error in us, and would not retract that charge. One of the elders had been in the prison with them, and had conferred with them about their opinions, and they expressed their agreement with him in every point, so as he intended to move for favor for them; but when he heard their answer upon their examination, he found how he had been deluded by them; for they excel the Jesuits in the art of equivocation, and regard not how false they speak to all other men's apprehensions, so they keep to the rules of their own meaning. Gorton maintained, that the image of God, wherein Adam was created, was Christ; and so the loss of that image was the death of Christ, and the restoring of it in regeneration, was Christ's resurrection; and so the death of him that was born of the Virgin Mary, was but a manifestation of the former. In their letters, &c. they condemned all ordinan-

ces in the Church, calling Baptism an abomination, and the Lord's Supper, the juice of a poor silly grape, turned into the blood of Christ by the skill of our magicians, &c. Yet upon examination, they would say they did allow them to be the ordinances of Christ; but their meaning was, that they were to continue no longer than the infancy of the Church lasted, (and but to novices then,) for after the revelation was written they were to cease; for there is no mention of them, say they, in that book.

They were all illiterate men; the ablest of them could not write true English, no, not common words; yet they would take upon them the interpretation of the most difficult places of Scripture, and wrest them any way, to serve their own turns: as to give one instance for many. Mr. Cotton, pressing them with that in Acts 10. "Who can forbid water, why these should not be baptized? so he commanded them to be baptized," they interpret thus. Who can deny but these have been baptized, seeing they have received the Holy Ghost, &c. so he allowed them to have been baptized. This shift they were put to, that they might maintain their former opinion, that such as have been baptized with the Holy Ghost, need not the outward baptism.

The Court and the elders spent near a whole day in discovery of Gorton's deep mysteries, which he had boasted of in his letters, and to bring him to conviction; but all was in vain. Much pains was also taken with the rest, but to as little effect. They would acknowledge no error or fault in their writings, and yet would seem sometimes to consent with us in the truth.

After all these examinations, the Court began to consult about their sentence. The judgment of the elders also had been demanded about their blasphemous speeches and opinions, what punishment was due by the word of God. Their answer was first in writing, that if they should maintain them as expressed in their writings, their offence deserved death, by the law of God. The same, some of them declared, after, in open court. But before the Court would proceed to determine of their sentence, they agreed first upon their charge, and then calling them all publicly, they declared to them what they had to charge them with, out of their letter and speeches. Their charge was this, viz. They were charged to be blasphemous enemies of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of all his holy ordinances, and like-

wise of all civil government among his people, and particularly within this jurisdiction. Then they were demanded whether they did acknowledge this charge to be just, and did submit to it, or what exceptions they had against it. They answered, they did not acknowledge it to be just, but they took no particular exceptions to it, but fell into some cavilling speeches; so they were returned to prison again. Being in prison, they behaved insolently towards their keeper, and spake evil of the magistrates. Whereupon some of the magistrates were very earnest to have irons presently put upon them. Others thought it better to forbear all such severity till their sentence were passed. This latter opinion prevailed.

After divers means had been used, both in public and private, to reclaim them, and all proving fruitless; the Court proceeded to consider of their sentence, in which the Court was much divided. All the magistrates, save three, were of opinion that Gorton ought to die; but the greatest number of the deputies dissenting, that vote did not pass. In the end, all agreed upon this sentence, for seven of them, viz. that they should be dispersed into seven several towns, and there kept to work for their living; and wear irons upon one leg; and not to depart the limits of the town; nor by word or writing, maintain any of their blasphemous or wicked errors; upon pain of death; only with exception for speech with any of the elders, or any other licensed, by any magistrate to confer with them; this censure to continue during the pleasure of the court.*

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* Silence might, perhaps, become the commentator on this lamentable delusion; but this narrative almost defies the power of comment, to enhance or mitigate the injustice of our Government. It is some consolation, however, that three of the magistrates and a majority of the deputies, rejected the horrible judgment of the elders, that the offences deserved death. Ridicule they might have deserved, but neglect would have been the most appropriate sentence. We cannot doubt, that our fathers thought the prisoners were justly within our jurisdiction; and this first error led to the invasion of their humble colony, which ought to have been as secure from process, as ours was from them. After the usurpation, the civil wrong, which was the first pretence of complaint, seems to have merged in their theological pravity. Our rulers assumed the right of proceeding against them as heretics, because we had injuriously acquired the power of inquiry into the title of their lands. The consummation of the tyranny I extract from our records, II. p. 39—41:

"Upon much examination and serious consideration of your writings,

There were three more taken in the house with them, but because they had not their hands to the letters, they were dismissed; two of them upon a small ransom, as captives taken in war, and the third freely, for that he was but in his master's house, &c. A fourth, being found to be an igno-

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with your answers about them, we do charge you to be a blaspehmous enemy of the true religion of our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy ordinances; and also of all civil authority among the people of God, and particularly in this jurisdiction.

"It is ordered, that Samuel Gorton shall be confined to Charlestown, there to be set on work, and to wear such bolts or irons, as may hinder his escape; and to continue during the pleasure of the Court; provided that if he shall break his said confinement, or shall in the mean time, either by speech or writing, publish, declare or maintain, any of the blasphemous or abominable heresies, wherewith he hath been charged by the General Court, contained in either of the two books sent unto us by him, or Randall Houlden; or shall reproach or reprove the churches of our Lord Jesus Christ, in these United Colonies; or the civil Government, or the public ordinances of God therein; (unless it be by answer to some question propounded to him, or conference with any elder, or with any other, licensed to speak with him privately, under the hand of one of the Assistants;) that immediately upon accusation of any such writing or speech, he shall, by such Assistant to whom such accusation shall be brought, be committed to prison, till the next Court of Assistants, then and there to be tried by a jury, whether he hath so spoken or written, and upon his conviction thereof, shall be condemned to death and executed. Dated the 3d of the 9th mo. 1643.

"John Wickes, Randall Houlden, Robert Potter, Richard Carder, Francis Weston and John Warner, are confined upon the same conditions. John Wickes, to Ipswich; Randall Houlden, to Salem; Robert Potter, to Rowley; Richard Carder, to Roxbury; Francis Weston, to Dorchester, and John Warner to Boston. All these are upon same conditions that Samuel Gorton, abovenamed, is.

"William Waddell is confined to Watertown, during the pleasure of the Court; and if he escape, to be punished, as this Court, or the Court of Assistants shall think meet.

"Richard Waterman is dismissed for the present, so that what is taken of his is to go toward payment of the charge, and the rest of his estate is bound in an 100 pounds, that he shall appear at the General Court, the 3d mo.; and not to depart without license, and to submit to the order of the Court.[1]

"Nicholas Power appearing, and denying that he set his hand to the first book, was dismissed with an admonition."

[1] The General Court holden on the 29th of the 3d month, (May) 1644, passed the following order, in relation to Waterman:

"Richard Waterman being found erroneous, heretical and obstinate, it was agreed that he should be detained prisoner till the Quarter Court in the 7th month, (September) unless five of the magistrates do find cause to send him away, which, if they do, it is ordered, he shall not return within this jurisdiction upon pain of death."—S.

rant young man, was only enjoined to abide in Watertown, upon pain of the Court's displeasure only.

At the next Court; they were all sent away, because we found that they did corrupt some of our people, especially the women, by their heresies.

About a week after, we sent men to fetch so many of their cattle as might defray our charges, both of the soldiers and of the Court, which spent many days about them, and for their expenses in prison. It came to, in all, about 160 pounds. There were three who escaped out of the house; these being sent for; to come in, two of them did so and one of them, because his hand was not to the letters, was freely discharged; the other was sent home upon his own bond to appear at the next Court, (only some of his cattle were taken towards the charges.) There was a fourth, who had his hand to the first letter, but he died before our soldiers went, and we left his whole estate to his wife and children. Their arms were all taken from them; and of their guns, the Court gave one fowling piece to Pomham and another to Saconomocco, and liberty granted them to have powder, as being now within our jurisdiction.

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